

SPECIAL REPORT

WHO IS KILLING THE MEDIA?

the Atlantic

OCTOBER 2009 THEATLANTIC.COM

Take Jon Stewart—Please!

BY CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

How the Recession Will Change the Middle Class

BY BENJAMIN SCHWARZ

What California Got Right

BY RONALD BROWNSTEIN

DEAR MR. BUSH,
YOU APPROVED

TORTURE.

ONLY YOU CAN FIX THE DAMAGE.

—
HERE'S HOW.
—

BY
ANDREW SULLIVAN



#BX888GG *****CARR-RT LOT 56C-003
#2330100044062789# 0908 J/F11
RON K UNZ
555 BRYANT ST
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704
11045
37
2
1
11045

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an and Coupe.

determine if this is intentional. You receive gentle input from the car as your steering wheel softly vibrates to alert you, and you are back on track without incident. A similar technology called ATTENTION ASSIST will even signal you if you begin to doze. Or perhaps the scenario requires more urgent intervention. You become distracted and fail to see that the car ahead of you has come to a standstill right in your lane. Your new E-Class has paid close attention and has automatically begun to bring the situation under control. You feel the car urgently slow itself. And as you come to rest, the complexities of ultra-sophisticated German engineering become profoundly, and reassuringly, clear.

THE POWER OF INNOVATION, THE GENIUS OF SIMPLICITY.

A car that can automatically brighten and dim headlamps through a full spectrum for maximum visibility and safety. A car that can sense traffic in your blind spots and alert you. A car that enables you to see through fog and senses danger undetectable to the human eye. Patent after patent. Innovation after innovation. But what is undeniably most profound is how seamless and simple all of this futuristic technology is to use. And how much of it works without your ever having to even see it.*



Night View Assist* technology enables a driver to be aware of objects hidden in darkness or fog.

PRECISION, PASSION AND GUT-WRENCHING PERFORMANCE.

As the driver of either the coupe or sedan, a truly visceral experience awaits—from the subtleties of a masterfully crafted interior to the not-so-subtle rush of torque you experience at the mere touch of the accelerator. And this performance is matched by the way your E-Class will perform in an accident: yet

another industry first, your car will protect you with nine standard air bags, including hip and knee protection for the driver and hip protection for the front passenger.* In the coupe or the sedan, on the wide-open

freeway or the twisting hairpins, from performance to technology to safety, the verdict is abundantly clear: This is the new E-Class. And this is Mercedes-Benz. MBUSA.com



Introducing the all-new E-Class Sedan



Two completely different cars, yet two equally powerful statements. The muscular 2-door E-Class Coupe features a unique, pillarless and flowing roofline, while the E-Class Sedan boasts a broad stance and luxuriously spacious interior.

One of the most advanced sedans on the planet. And one of the most aerodynamic coupes ever to take to the road. With the launch of these two new E-Class vehicles comes the launch of a new era in automotive engineering and design.

TECHNOLOGY UNITES WITH HUMAN INTUITION AS NEVER BEFORE.

The control panel of your new E-Sedan illuminates and, right before your eyes, the very future of the automobile comes to life. As you drive, your car



makes a careful study of your actions to form a profile of your unique driving habits. Sensors monitor each wheel, each vehicle movement and each driving maneuver.

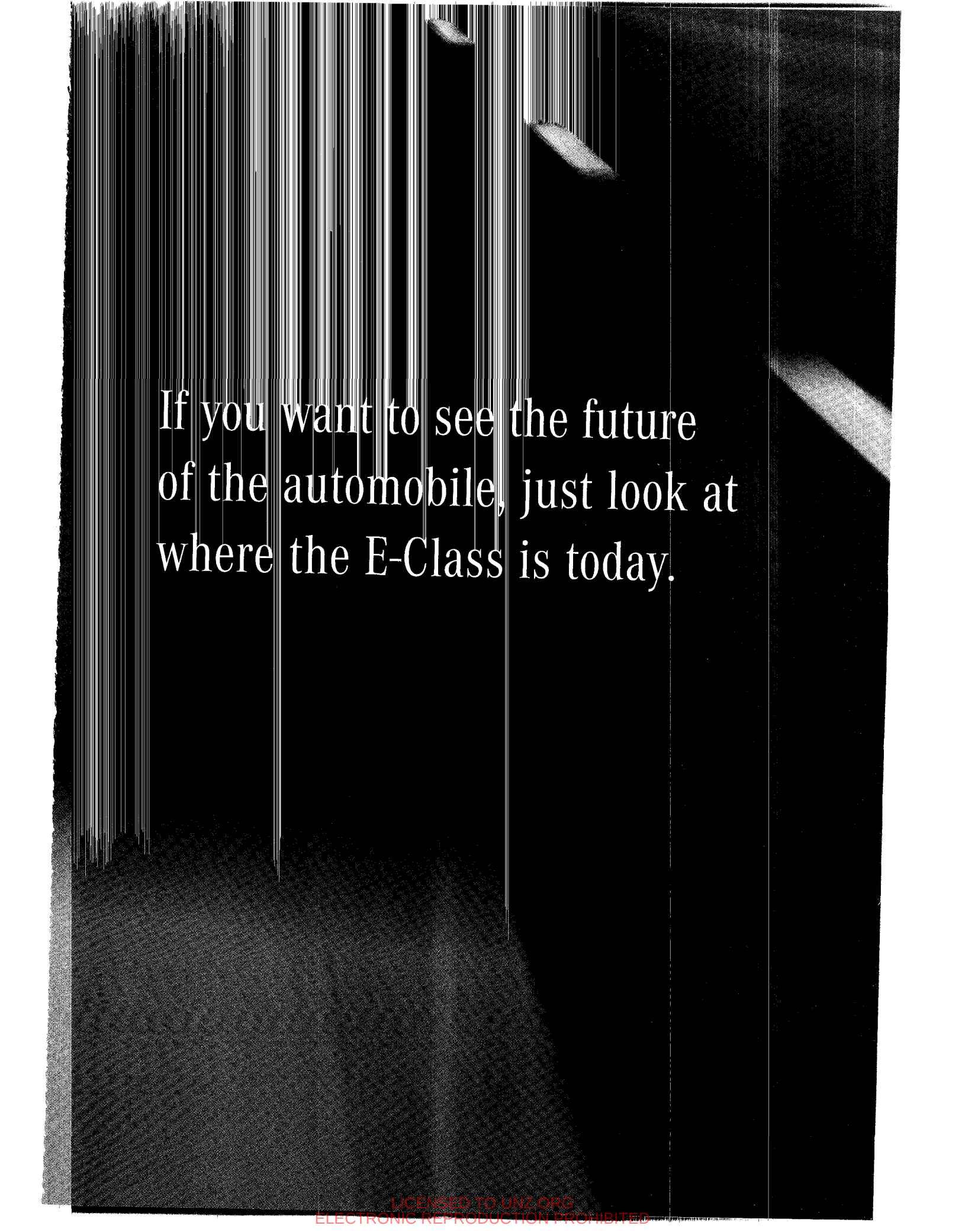
NOT JUST NEW SYSTEMS, BUT A WHOLE NEW ERA IN SAFETY.

Perhaps you unknowingly drift into the lane beside you. Your Mercedes-Benz advanced lane departure warning system, Lane Keeping Assist, performs hundreds of calculations in real time to

SIRIUS
SATELLITE RADIO

Only at authorized dealers.
Available in all E-Class vehicles.





If you want to see the future
of the automobile, just look at
where the E-Class is today.



Mercedes-Benz

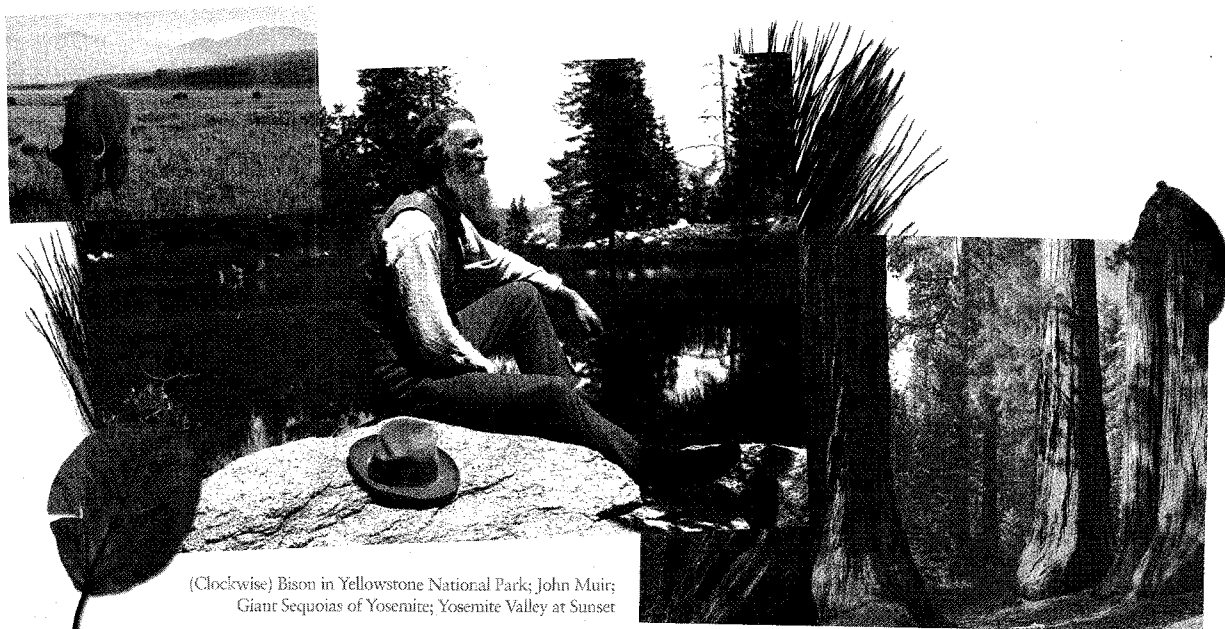
2010 E 350 Sport Sedan shown in optional Capri Blue metallic paint with optional Premium 2 Package. Inset: 2010 E 550 Coupe shown in optional Iridium Silver metallic paint with optional Premium 2 and Appearance Packages. *Blind Spot Assist, Lane Keeping Assist and Night View Assist are only available on the E-Class Sedan. †The 2010 E-Class Sedan and Coupe come with nine standard air bags. Two optional rear side-impact air bags are available. Knee protectors are only available for the driver. Hip protectors are only available for the front passengers. ©2009 SIRIUS XM Radio Inc. ©2009 Mercedes-Benz USA, LLC
For more information, call 1-800-FOR-MERCEDES, or visit MBUSA.com.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UNHCR/REFUGEE TV
© 2011 UNHCR. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without prior written permission from UNHCR.

WHERE THERE IS WATER THERE IS LIFE. It is one of the fundamental principles of planet Earth. And to insure that it will always **DOW** be so, we are constantly improving desalination technology and water purification solutions desperately needed by both developing and developed countries. All the while, the scientist and the chemist in us, ever mindful of the elements that hold the answer. Hydrogen. Oxygen. And Human.



(Clockwise) Bison in Yellowstone National Park; John Muir; Giant Sequoias of Yosemite; Yosemite Valley at Sunset

AMERICA'S BEST IDEA

"Going to the woods is going home," the naturalist John Muir wrote in *The Atlantic* more than a hundred years ago; "for I suppose we came from the woods originally." Back then the idea of a national park—a place where nature is preserved and protected—was still in its infancy. Muir's rhapsodical accounts in *The Atlantic* of his walks beneath the giant sequoias of Yosemite, or beside its rivers and waterfalls, inspired others to action. He fomented a groundswell to protect the other pristine areas in the United States and to form more national parks. And this was something new, this idea that national parks are for everyone, not just the wealthy; it was revolutionary and democratic.

This fall, documentary director Ken Burns, whose previous works include *The Civil War* (1990), *Baseball* (1994), and *Jazz* (2001), will present the little-known story of America's national parks in a 12-hour, six-part series, *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*. Filmed over the course of more than six years in some of nature's most spectacular locales—from Acadia to Yosemite, from Yellowstone to the Grand

Canyon, from the Everglades of Florida to the Gates of the Arctic in Alaska—the documentary tells the story of those who struggled to save a piece of the wilderness for everyone.

"Just as many of the lands that make up today's national parks were the spiritual homes for the indigenous tribes who lived there," says Burns, "they had a profound and often spiritual impact on the settlers who first saw them, and on the visionaries who fought tirelessly to preserve them as the common property of the American people."

America's Best Idea traces the birth of the national parks in the mid-1800s and follows their evolution for nearly 150 years. Using archival photographs, first-person accounts of historical characters, personal memories and analysis from more than 40 interviews, and what Burns believes is the most stunning cinematography of his professional career, the series chronicles the steady addition of new parks over the decades, through the stories of the people who helped create them.

With 391 units (58 national parks, plus 333 national monuments, historic sites and other units), the National Park Service has a presence in 49 of the 50 states. The novelist Wallace Stegner once called the national parks system "the best idea we ever had." Surprisingly, it is only with the release of *The National Parks: America's Best Idea* on PBS that we are coming to know the full story behind that grand idea.





Photo courtesy of John Muir National Historic Site

IT WAS BECAUSE OF HIS WALKS
IN THE WOODS
THAT THE WOODS ARE STILL
THERE

MEET JOHN MUIR AND THE REST OF THE
PEOPLE BEHIND OUR NATIONAL PARKS.

A FILM BY KEN BURNS
THE NATIONAL PARKS
America's Best Idea

pbs.org/nationalparks

SUN SEPT 27 | 8PM ET
PT

Be more



PBS



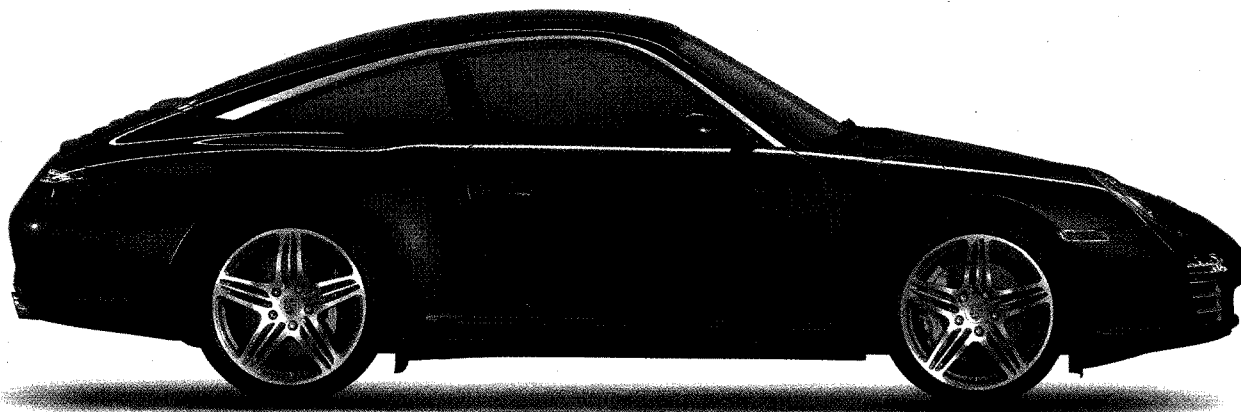
IN A CLEAR NEW WORLD OPPORTUNITIES HAVE NOWHERE TO HIDE

The next big thing is out there. Which is why the best-run businesses today are those that can spot it first. It's also why so many companies are turning to SAP® business software. They're using it to uncover once-hidden nuggets of opportunity and find new ways to become more agile. And they're discovering that the next big thing isn't always "out there," but has often been in front of them the entire time. It's how business gets done in a clear new world. **Start the journey. Visit sap.com/clear or call 866-255-0675.**

THE BEST-RUN BUSINESSES RUN SAP™







Whether it's an extravagance or a necessity depends on if you've driven it.

The Porsche 911. There is no substitute.

The first time you experience a Porsche 911, you notice a degree of purpose to the car you may not have anticipated. Every component, every technical advancement is there to advance one cause: the drive. You notice the key is on the left; it was put there originally so a racer could start with one hand, shift with the other and hit the track faster. You, car and road bond like brothers. You suddenly remember that driving can be a thrill. *Is* a thrill. You feel alive every time you get behind the wheel. You note, amazed, that a 385-horsepower car returns 27 miles per gallon. You appreciate its founding belief of getting more from less. You strain to think of something else that has stayed this true to its ideals for 46 years. And you come to the realization that, in the age of the superfluous and the superficial, the unrooted and the unserious, the 911 is necessary. Very necessary. porscheusa.com/911



PORSCHE

CONTENTS

DEPARTMENTS

12...EDITOR'S NOTE

14...LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GALLERY

62...Glass Half Full
By Stephen Doyle

87...USPQR

By Istvan Banyai

POETRY

50...Out of the Woods

By Mary Jo Salter

60...Gabardine

By Ted Kooser

64...Hens

By Henri Cole

116...WHAT'S YOUR PROBLEM?

Don't smoke pot in the living room, and other advice

By Jeffrey Goldberg



How the bloke-ish fatalism of Ricky Gervais and friends has won over American audiences, page 42.

Dispatches

THE MILITARY

23...Civilians force harsh choices at Army field hospitals. *By Brian Mockenhaupt*

MUSIC

24...Among the young believers at the new Christian-rock hot spot *By James Parker*

CHINA

25...Two Americans try to save a Chinese town from kitsch. *By James Fallows*

CRIME

26...In Chicago, the funeral-home business is booming. *By Linnet Myers Burden*

CITIZENSHIP

28...Becoming a Canadian has its advantages. *By Will Wilkinson*

FOOD

30...Reinventing old-fashioned candy, naturally *By Corby Kummer*

TRAVEL

32...Cruising the Erie Canal, at five miles per hour *By Rachel Dickinson*

TECHNOLOGY

34...Forget solar panels. Move to the city. *By Witold Rybczynski*

Columns

BUSINESS

37...What do investment bankers, wedding planners, and movie-trailer voice-over artists have in common? High fees for once-in-a-lifetime deals. *By Megan McArdle*

MOVING PICTURES

42...The comic invasion of Ricky Gervais and Russell Brand *By James Parker*

Books

EDITOR'S CHOICE

91...What histories of the Depression era tell us about middle-class families in crisis, then and now *By Benjamin Schwarz*

ESSAY

101...The smug satire of liberal humorists debases our comedy—and our national conversation. *By Christopher Hitchens*

COVER TO COVER

114...A. S. Byatt's latest; fear and loathing of the future; God is still dead; and more

Cover photograph
by Christopher Morris/
VII

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THEATLANTIC.COM



SLIDESHOW

Low Bridge, Everybody Down

Rachel Dickinson narrates a photo tour of the pensive birds, towering locks, and limestone ruins of the Erie Canal.



VIDEO

In Our Name

Andrew Sullivan considers the long-term damage torture has done to American prestige and moral standing—and how George W. Bush can help.



AGGREGATION

Summary Judgments

Visit the new Atlantic Wire for up-to-the-minute coverage of the best opinions and debates from hundreds of writers across the world of ideas.



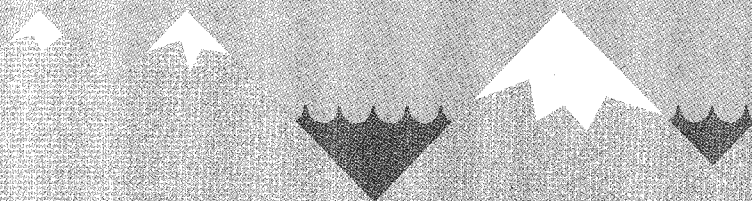
VIDEO

Washington Ideas Forum

Starting October 1, watch newsmakers—including Lawrence Summers, David Petraeus, and Arne Duncan—hash out Obama's record.



IN THE NEW ENERGY FUTURE, WE'LL HAVE TO UNLOCK WHAT'S LOCKED AWAY.



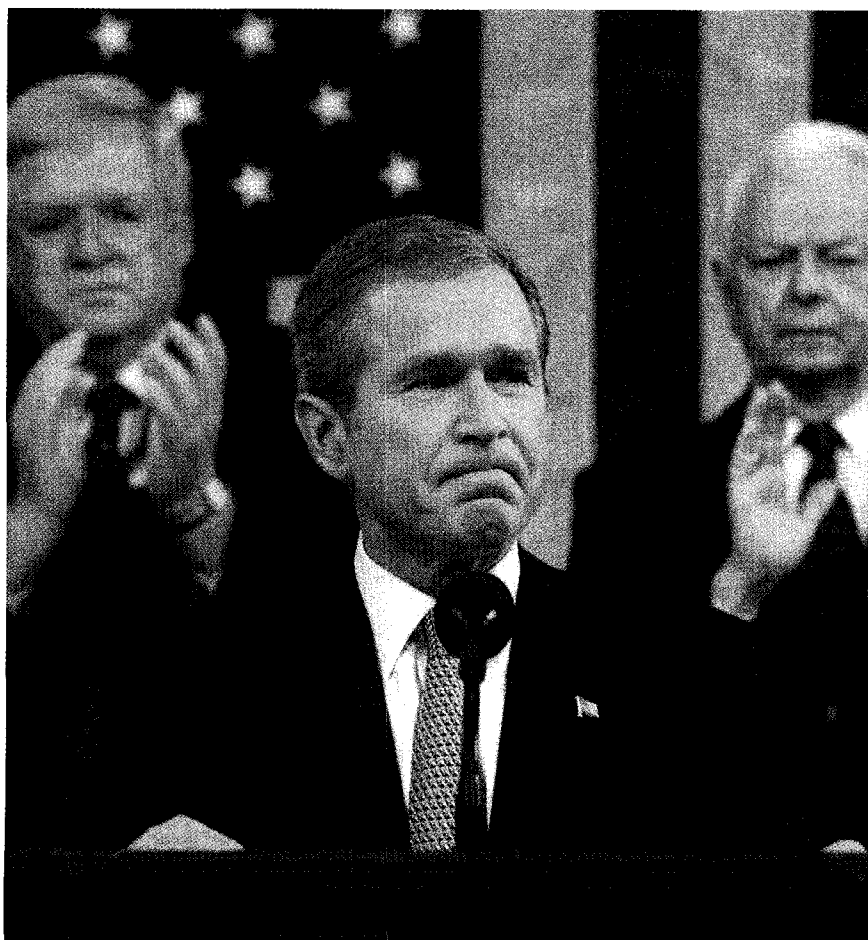
As the global population grows and energy demand increases, we need innovation to make the most of the world's energy resources, however difficult the conditions.

Like developing the technology to release oil locked deep beneath the ocean in the Gulf of Mexico. And helping create one of the world's largest oil-and-gas projects in the remote and challenging conditions of Russia's Sakhalin Island.

In addition, our Enhanced Oil Recovery techniques access previously unreachable oil from existing wells. And, while unlocking the energy the world needs, we continue to develop technologies to manage CO₂ emissions.

To find out how Shell is helping prepare for the new energy future, visit **www.shell.us/energytalk**





Truth and Reconciliation

WHEN HE FIRST ran for president more than 10 years ago, George W. Bush talked a good deal about restoring honor to the Oval Office. He was never very specific, but he didn't need to be. The name *Monica Lewinsky* was still on everyone's lips, and on the subject of honor, Bush seemed to know what he was talking about. The man's grandfather had been a senator and his father had been president, and his own Prince Hal story of rebellion and redemption suggested he had tested, and then more consciously embraced, the moral lessons of his aristocratic breeding. His competence was questioned in the 2000 campaign, but though his character came under fire as well—remember Karla Faye Tucker and

the Texas Air National Guard—those attacks didn't dent him.

"The Bush I knew was part scamp and part bumbler, a timeless fraternity boy and heedless cutup, a weekday gym rat and weekend napster," wrote Frank Bruni in *Ambling Into History*, his knowing account of that campaign and the first eight months of Bush's presidency. Yet Bruni also saw in Bush a sense of wonder about the office and "a profound sense of responsibility."

On the morning Bush was reading *The Pet Goat* with a roomful of children in Florida, history so dramatically engulfed the president that scholars will surely debate for generations how America, and he, were transformed on his watch. But right now, that basic framework—dubious competence, decent character—looks to stand a chance

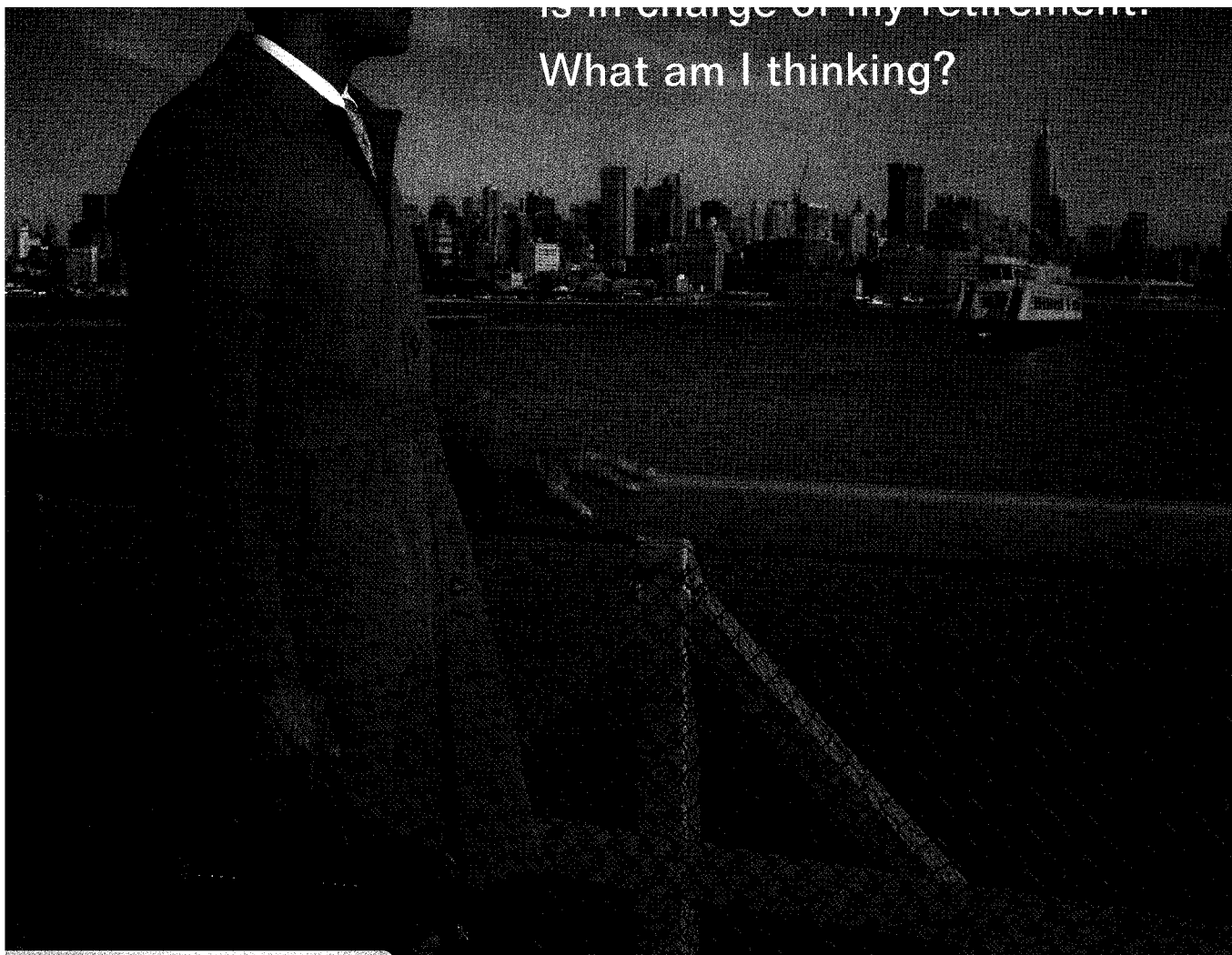
of enduring. And if it does, George W. Bush could come to be seen in part as a tragic figure. His desire to do right—to fulfill the responsibilities of his office as he saw them, and to spread democracy around the world—was undermined by policies he set in motion in the hope of doing right.

"Our greatest export is freedom, and we have a moral obligation to champion it throughout the world," Bush wrote in his 1999 campaign autobiography, *A Charge to Keep*. "This will be an age of liberty here and across the world," he promised in his address to the Joint Session of Congress after the September 11 attacks. And later, as things became more complicated: "This government does not torture people."

In this issue of *The Atlantic*, Andrew Sullivan sets legalisms aside to give an unblinking tour of the Bush administration's systematic torture program. He is not attacking the former president; he is reaching out to him, on the basis of their shared view of the threat posed by terrorism and their shared devotion to the principles of American democracy. He wants not to indict Bush (or to urge others to do so), but to persuade him of the scope of the torture program, of the damage that it did, and of the way forward, for Bush and for the country. An unambiguous statement from the former president that the policy was wrong would reassure the world that the United States is indeed committed to an age of liberty, and it would guard future administrations, in times of national pain, against the temptation or political compulsion to resort to the same tactics.

Mr. Bush, and some readers, may regard this appeal as presumptuous. But there is nothing cynical or glib about Andrew's request: he knows he is not asking the former president to do an obvious or easy thing. Indeed, the difficulty of the step, if Bush took it, would give the measure of the man's character, and of the sense of honor and public responsibility of the Bush family. "America is the land of the second chance," Bush said once. Over to you, Mr. President.

—James Bennet



is in charge of my retirement.
What am I thinking?

ROLL OVER YOUR 401(K) AND
GET UP TO \$500*

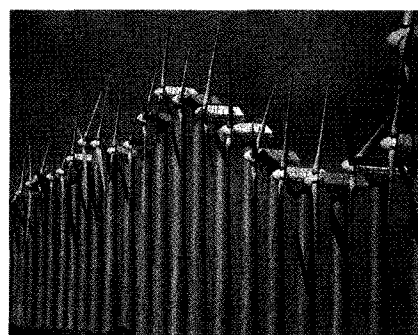
TDAMERITRADE.COM/ROLLOVER
877-TDAMERITRADE

Maybe you left last week. Maybe you left five years ago. Either way, why leave your future at a place you left behind? Call one of our Chartered Retirement Planning Counselors™. Or visit a TD AMERITRADE branch and talk to an Investment Consultant. They can guide you through your IRA choices and help you roll over your old 401(k). When you do, you'll gain access to a vast array of investment choices—not just a handful of mutual funds. So you can do more than move on. You can move forward.

TD AMERITRADE

*Offer valid for individuals who open a new TD AMERITRADE retirement account or a new eligible TD AMERITRADE Investing Account (IRA) using the Amerivest service by 12/31/2009 and meet funding requirements within 6 months of account opening. **Funding/rollover of \$25,000–\$99,999 receives \$100, funding/rollover of \$100,000–\$249,999 receives \$250, funding/rollover of \$250,000 or more receives \$500.** Limit one offer per client. Not transferable and not valid with internal transfers or with other offers. Cash awards are valid within your IRA only and non-transferable to another existing TD AMERITRADE account. Please consult a legal or tax advisor for the most recent changes to the U.S. tax code and for rollover eligibility rules. Void where prohibited. Please allow 3–5 business days for any cash deposits to post to account. Account must remain open with minimum funding for 9 months, or TD AMERITRADE may charge the account for the cash awarded to the account. TD AMERITRADE reserves the right to restrict or revoke this offer. This is not an offer or solicitation in any jurisdiction where we are not authorized to do business. Amerivest is an investment advisory service of Amerivest Investment Management, LLC, a SEC registered investment advisor. Brokerage services are provided by TD AMERITRADE, Inc. Amerivest Investment Management, LLC and TD AMERITRADE, Inc. are both wholly owned subsidiaries of TD AMERITRADE Holding Corporation. Amerivest is a trademark of TD AMERITRADE IP Company, Inc. Amerivest provides non-discretionary and discretionary advisory services for a fee. Risks applicable to any portfolio are those associated with its underlying securities. TD AMERITRADE, Inc. member FINRA/SIPC. TD AMERITRADE is a trademark jointly owned by TD AMERITRADE IP Company, Inc. and The Toronto-Dominion Bank. ©2009 TD AMERITRADE IP Company, Inc. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



THE CASE FOR MARRIAGE

Having just read Sandra Tsing Loh's rant against the kitchen bitch ("Let's Call the Whole Thing Off," July/August *Atlantic*) and being a rather delighted partner in a Companionate Marriage, I was hesitant to hand over *The Atlantic* to my husband. You see, last night's dinner was veal in the style of Trieste, with red cabbage, which he prepared while I tucked in our two children for the night. Dear friends sipped a fine Napa Valley red while waiting for me to descend empty-handed from upstairs, and for my husband to bring the meal to the table.

Unfortunately, after reading Ms. Tsing Loh's case against marriage, my husband has started to develop a bit of a complex. Sandra Tsing Loh had a place at our dinner table nearly every night for the past few weeks, but I have now shown her the door. I love my kitchen bitch. The marriage is a win-win.

JENNIFER RAUM
FARGO, N.D.

I write as a divorced woman who has remarried. Indeed, I am one of those delusional creatures who still believed in the institution of marriage, even while watching the demise of my own. Perhaps more blame for the end of Sandra Tsing Loh's marriage lies in her generation's interpretation of the

Women's Movement than in society as a whole or the institution of marriage in particular. The empowerment born of the movement was not the ability to do everything well, but the ability to choose one's priorities without ostracism or marginalization.

Happy husband, happy children, fulfilling career, spotless home. Four brass rings to grab. Two hands with which to grab. Is it any surprise so many women of Tsing Loh's generation end up divorced? They try to achieve what is typically beyond the limits of any one human's energy and effort. I hope the women of my generation have learned to better prioritize and moderate their goals.

Tsing Loh mentions our increased longevity, without any attendant realization that we women have more time than ever

to do everything well. The rub is that the days of our 77 years are still only 24 hours long—we can do everything well, just not simultaneously. Ultimately, my advice to Tsing Loh mirrors her own. She should avoid marriage. If not forever, at least until she is willing to make it a priority in her life.

TRICIA HEATH
LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Sandra Tsing Loh replies:

From my position of exile in Jennifer Raum's recycling bin, I can only humbly request that Raum's marvelous husband

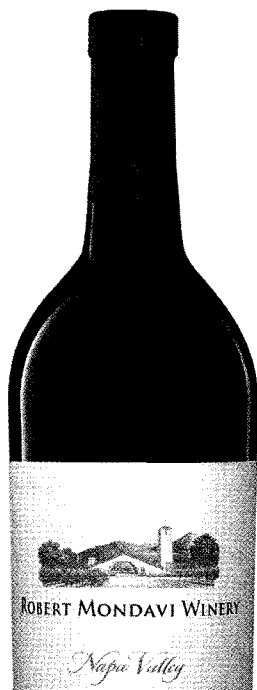
place some veal in a doggy bag, next to the trash cans, as it sounds really good. That said, although Raum gives a lot of marriage menu description, I noticed no word on the sex. And yet, if all's well by both, who am I to argue those Napa Valley red-warmed nights aren't indeed win-win? As for Tricia Heath, yes. Were I to marry a second time, in midlife or beyond, with my childbearing years behind me and my own income before me, I would have the First World luxury of choosing for a husband not a provider, a father, or any other conventionally male-protective figure but an emotional partner. If that "emotional partner" ends up being a fun-loving gay, I hope we will gain readmittance to Jennifer Raum's welcoming table. World travelers, we will embrace Fargo (and I'll make sure Chaz brings his porcini risotto)!

FULL SPEED AHEAD

Bruce Selcraig suggests using Detroit's numerous dead factories to build high-speed trains ("Train Detroit," July/August *Atlantic*)—and what an irony it would be for commuter trains to be built there, given Detroit's role in undermining rail transit in America. But if you go back further in history, you'll remember that it was the GM diesel-electric locomotive that forced the mighty steam engine off the main line and into the museum, and brought the railroads into the modern age. Thus, if Detroit were to build the new high-speed trains, it would be less an irony and more a return to natural evolution, with the inefficient automobile being an unproductive segment of the lineage.

PAUL TOMINAC
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

KIM ROSEN; MARK AND MATT OWENS; MORTON BEEBE/CORBIS



*Some wines reflect the character of their makers
Some reflect the size of their dreams.*

Robert Mondavi wanted to make wines that belonged among the world's finest. And he wanted to make them in Napa Valley. Sometimes a dream is big enough to sustain you. Inspiring enough to become true. Today the wines of Robert Mondavi Winery stand in the company of the best in the world.

His name is on the bottle. His story is in it.

ON THE FRONTLINES:

An exclusive video series
on TheAtlantic.com
hosted by **James Fallows**,
The Atlantic's noted
China correspondent, and
journalist **Emily Chang**

Interviews, analysis,
on the ground reporting.

From the Great Wall to the
Great Wall of China.

The country's economic
reforms, and how they
are shaping the country's
future.

Join the video series at

<http://doingbusinessinchina.theatlantic.com>.

SPONSORED BY



CATHAY PACIFIC

Skytrax Airline of the Year 2009

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

KEEPING THE PEACE

James Gibney's "Unleash the Dogs of Peace" (July/August *Atlantic*) misstates the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and promotes a number of misconceptions about the work of UN peacekeepers globally. Violence and conflict indeed continue in the DRC, but Mr. Gibney is wrong to imply that peacekeepers have done nothing to improve the situation in the DRC.

When the UN first deployed MONUC, a decade ago, the DRC was a politically fractured country where millions had died in the ongoing civil war. At the height of the conflict, approximately 3.4 million people were displaced. Today, 1.7 million people are displaced, largely because of localized hostilities in the east. Most Congolese armed groups have laid down their arms, the western regions are stable, and with MONUC's assistance, the DRC has carried out its first national democratic multiparty elections in 40 years.

Like all other major global military deployments, MONUC has had incidents of misconduct. All such cases are investigated by the UN's Office of Internal Oversight and referred to the member states for action. MONUC pursues a strict policy of zero tolerance for misconduct and over the past five years has repatriated 143 uniformed personnel and taken disciplinary action against 20 civilians for offenses related to sexual exploitation and abuse.

As Mr. Gibney rightly points out, the use of private military contractors as an alternative to UN blue helmets raises serious issues of accountability, as they operate in a "murky legal environment." It is also in no way certain that they would be more effective than the blue helmets. A recent study by the Rand Corporation stated that the UN "provides the most suitable institutional framework for most nation-building

missions, one with a comparatively low cost structure, a comparatively high success rate and the greatest degree of international legitimacy." A shift to the use of private military companies would guarantee none of these outcomes.

ALAIN L. ROY
UNDER-SECRETARY-GENERAL
FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS
UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK, N.Y.

GO GREEN WITH NUCLEAR

I find it strange that Joshua Green holds up Jimmy Carter as a champion of clean energy ("Better Luck This Time," July/August *Atlantic*), since his policy of banning the commercial reprocessing and recycling of nuclear fuel

was instrumental in thwarting the growth of the industry with the greatest potential for replacing carbon-emitting electrical power plants in the U.S.—nuclear energy.

France now generates more than 75 percent of its electricity from nuclear energy and is a net exporter of electricity because of its very low generation cost. According to the Energy Information Administration, nucle-

ar plants account for 10 percent of the electrical-generation capacity and produce 20 percent of the electricity in the U.S. Wind and solar generation account for about 1.6 percent of electrical-generation capacity. Nuclear plants have achieved a utilization factor of 90 percent because they can operate 24 hours a day year-round regardless of weather, whereas dependability is a major consideration in the use of wind and solar energy for generation of electricity.

I hope the Obama administration and Congress give serious consideration to the clean-energy source already operational with buildable capacity to meet the needs of the electric automobiles they are encouraging. Let's revoke Carter's ban on recycling nuclear fuel

"The empowerment born of the Women's Movement was not the ability to do everything well, but the ability to choose one's priorities."



*What I loved was
the extra effort
you took to make me
feel comfortable.*

Great service. Great people. Great fares. Visit cathaypacific.com/us



Skytrax Airline of the Year 2009



CATHAY PACIFIC

and build a breeder reactor so we can be at least as far up on the energy curve as the French.

STEVE MYERS
TUCSON, ARIZ.

GEO-ENGINEERING RESPONSIBILITY

In his fascinating but unnerving article on geo-engineering ("Moving Heaven and Earth," July/August *Atlantic*), Graeme Wood draws attention to the potential dangers should nations or even wealthy individuals decide to mitigate the forthcoming climate crisis by using some form of dramatic geo-engineering. Although this is unlikely because most countries would hesitate to violate international law, extreme circumstances could provoke a maverick reaction, Wood says. He calls for more research into possible legal responses to geo-engineering.

One important response would be to create a judicial framework for

international environmental treaties, which could set standards for national, corporate, and individual activities causing environmental damage or creating hazards and could, when necessary, impose sanctions. Call it an International Court for the Environment. Research into the potential structure and functions of such a court has already begun, and a steering committee ready to launch a worldwide campaign for its adoption has been created; it's called, appropriately enough, the ICE Coalition.

In anticipation of, or in response to, a potential "Greenfinger" acting unilaterally, such a court could help to establish the ground rules in this area and coordinate a global approach and, perhaps, avoid the *Blade Runner* scenario that Wood so scarily conjures up.

STEPHEN HOCKMAN, QC,
PETER LUFF, AND PHILIP RICHES
ICE COALITION
LONDON, ENGLAND

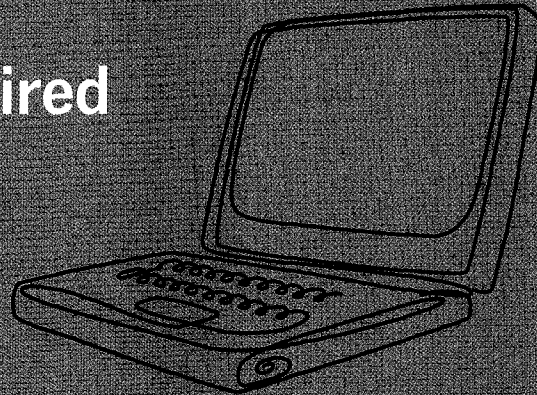
Graeme Wood's article has performed a valuable service by drawing attention to the possibility of geo-engineering as a means of manipulating the Earth's climate, particularly to reverse global warming, should that be desirable. Unfortunately, despite much speculative talk, amazingly little serious technical study has been devoted to the details of geo-engineering, and this article reflects that.

A recent Novim Group study found that the use of tubes and balloons to loft sulfur into the stratosphere, as featured in the article, would be difficult and would require the development of new technology. Big guns and airplanes, often suggested, probably wouldn't work either, but simple rockets would be a cheap, low-tech solution, lofting sulfur in any desired quantity to any desired altitude.

Removing carbon dioxide from the atmosphere is not feasible, because of the enormous quantity of air that must

Electronic medical
records will be required
by 2014.

We've been using
them since 2002.

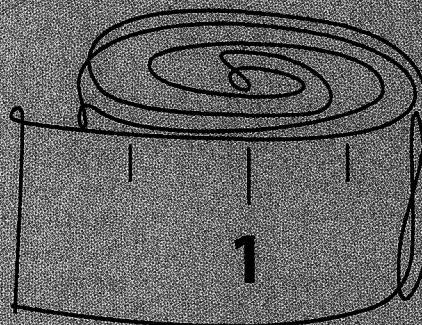


Cleveland Clinic

Every life deserves world class care.

Learn more. clevelandclinicfacts.org

The largest incision
we need for a
robotic heart valve
repair is 1 inch.



Every life deserves world class care.

Learn more. clevelandclinicfacts.org

pass through the extraction process. All proposals, including David Keith's towers, would fail by enormous factors.

Ultimately, society will have to decide by a worldwide consensus whether it wants to engage in geo-engineering. But first we need some thoughtful study of the options. The science shows that the work is possible, but the serious engineering has not been done.

JONATHAN KATZ
PROFESSOR OF PHYSICS
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MO.

CHECKING OUR COMPETITIVE DRIVE

The year 2030 can't come soon enough, if we're to accept Jamais Cascio's über-optimistic vision ("Get Smart," July/August *Atlantic*). According to Cascio, cognitive-modification drugs are a panacea. We will be smarter; we will be a "populace stuck in overdrive, searching out the last bits of competitive advantage."

Well, that's all fine and good, but is it what we need? Cascio accepts "beating

out rivals" as an inexorable part of our DNA; consequently, to resist a pharmacological arms race is futile (he is not completely right: home runs and neck sizes are down in baseball, and the game is better for it), and we should choose instead to embrace chemical innovation as the next major evolutionary event.

It seems that we are at a moment in our history when the base competitive drive in all of us may need to be checked, rather than augmented. Unless Mr. Cascio's drugs can make our hearts bigger, I fear they may only accelerate the abuses and fissures that define us today.

BENNY KOLDYKE
SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

Jamais Cascio replies:

The baseball analogy is inexact; drugs have been pushed out of sports not by a sudden increase in prudence, but by a testing-and-punishment regime that would be excessive in the typical workplace. Moreover, pharmacology is just a small part of the historical drive to augment ourselves through technology. But we're now at a point where the

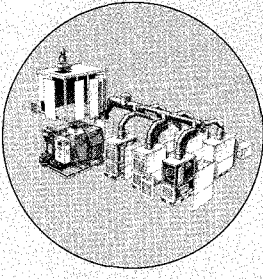
power of that augmentation can be staggering. We must apply caution, wisdom, and foresight across the spectrum of our technologies, evaluating both drawbacks and benefits, embracing neither desire for transcendence nor fear of catastrophe as our only guide.

LESS-THAN-ROSY REALITY

I am always happy to see coverage of a country I love, but I was disturbed by Jeffrey Tayler's rosy view of Moldova's reality ("What Crisis?," July/August *Atlantic*). Although Tayler may think the lack of widespread reliance on credit is laudable, he fails to accurately describe the hardships of Moldovan life. Moldova's dubious distinction as one of the main source countries of human trafficking, the high rates of emigration now seriously depleting its educated population, and the continued Russian occupation in the Transnistrian region belie Tayler's fairly bucolic description.

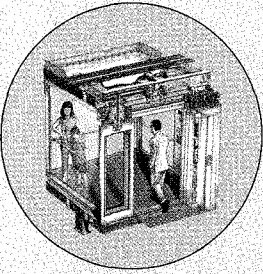
As Tayler points out, Moldova is the poorest country in Europe, with an average per capita income of about \$2,500 in 2008. Most Moldovans in Chişinău

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



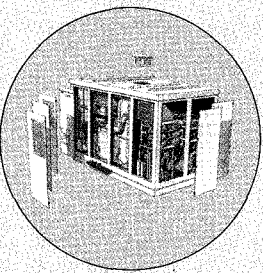
Pure comfort.

PureComfort® CCHP (combined cooling, heating and power) system solutions can more than double energy efficiency over most conventional grid sources.



Otis' Gen2® elevators with ReGen™

drives not only use less energy when lifting loads, they also give back the energy on descent, all while using up to 75% less power than comparable elevators a decade ago. That's conservation.



Breathe.

UTC Power's PureCell® Model 400 fuel cell power plant is designed to meet the most stringent air emission standards in the U.S. A single mid-sized building equipped with a PureCell Model 400 system annually eliminates emissions equivalent to that of several hundred cars.

do live within their means and find ways to purchase consumer goods such as washing machines and televisions, but life is often communal and families work together to purchase these items, so there is little in the way of individual consumption. The wealthiest in Moldova have often prospered from the "shadow economies" that profit from human, drug, and arms trafficking and foreign remittances. Those are the people shopping in Sun City and Jumbo. Leave the capital and head to Moldova's rural agricultural villages, and life is vastly different.

Indeed, the picture of the family picnicking accompanying the article may have also illustrated the result of a Russian gas shutoff of a few years ago, when inhabitants of Chişinău were forced to take to the parks and woods to cook meals for an entire summer.

DENISE M. HORN, PH.D.
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY
BOSTON, MASS.

Jeffrey Tayler replies:

Moldova's sufferings are well known, so I saw no need to recount them in detail in my article; if Westerners hear anything about the country at all, it is probably negative. In any case, what Moldova surely did not need was another crisis to add to its travails—in this case an economic crisis originating in the debt-ridden U.S. The point of my article was to show how debtless Moldova managed to escape the crisis. Lack of debt doesn't make a society "bucolic"—Denise Horn's word—but it does, it turns out, make life a lot easier.

I don't know the circumstances under which the photo accompanying my story was shot, but it runs counter to common sense to suppose that only a Russia-related gas cutoff would prompt

Moldovans to enjoy one bounty they do have—a clement climate.

THE VALUE OF LEADERSHIP

Speaking of CEOs ("Do CEOs Matter?," Harris Collingwood, June *Atlantic*): 40 years after Walt Disney's death, Disney Corporation staff still feel that they are part of a special mission that contributes toward a better world. And several years after the fun-loving Herb Kelleher retired from Southwest Airlines, pilots and flight attendants still consider it an honor to be chosen to serve on a *Shamu* (one of Southwest's three planes painted like an orca).

To have a purpose, to be encouraged to enthusiastically implement that purpose, and to have the sense of proud ownership and accomplishment when observing its positive impacts is the essence of a meaningful, fulfilling life.

There are many "leaders" among middle management, staff, and the next generation who could focus, inspire, and unleash the rest of us. I meet them every day. But they will never have the opportunity to do so until the rest of us begin valuing, developing, and promoting leaders instead of valuing, developing, and promoting those who can fabricate a profit margin in the next quarter. Those house-of-sand next-quarter profits are crumbling all around us, while the few house-of-brick organizations that are based on true leadership are doing just fine.

DAVID CHILDS, PH.D.
IRVING, TEXAS

Clarification

In the September issue's Cover to Cover, James Lasdun's short-story collection *It's Beginning to Hurt* should have been designated the *Atlantic* Selection.

To submit a letter to the editor, please e-mail us at letters@theatlantic.com. Include your full name, city, and state.

EDITORIAL OFFICES & CORRESPONDENCE *The Atlantic* considers unsolicited manuscripts, fiction or nonfiction, and mail for the Letters column. Correspondence should be sent to: Editorial Department, *The Atlantic*, 600 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20037. Letters may also be sent to: letters@theatlantic.com. Receipt of unsolicited manuscripts will be acknowledged if accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. Manuscripts will not be returned. Please do not send manuscripts by e-mail. CUSTOMER SERVICE & REPRINTS Please direct all subscription queries and orders to: 800-234-2411. International callers: 386-246-0196. For expedited customer service, please call between 3:30 and 11:30 p.m. ET, Tuesday through Friday. You may also write to: Atlantic Customer Care, P.O. Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0235. Reprint requests (100+) should be made to The YGS Group, 717-399-1900. A discount rate and free support materials are available to teachers who use *The Atlantic* in the classroom. Please call 202-266-7197 or visit www.theatlantic.com/teach. ADVERTISING OFFICES *The Atlantic*, 286 Madison Avenue, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10017, 212-284-7647.

Doing more with less.

Buildings today account for up to 40% of the world's total energy demand*. Addressing their high energy consumption is critical. United Technologies offers solutions to reduce buildings' energy use right now.

UTC's water and base energy consumption are down 50% and 22%, respectively, over the 12-year period ending 2008 on a company twice the size. Proof that the fastest, cheapest and most reliable source of alternative energy is conservation via greater efficiency.

Conservation. Not deprivation.

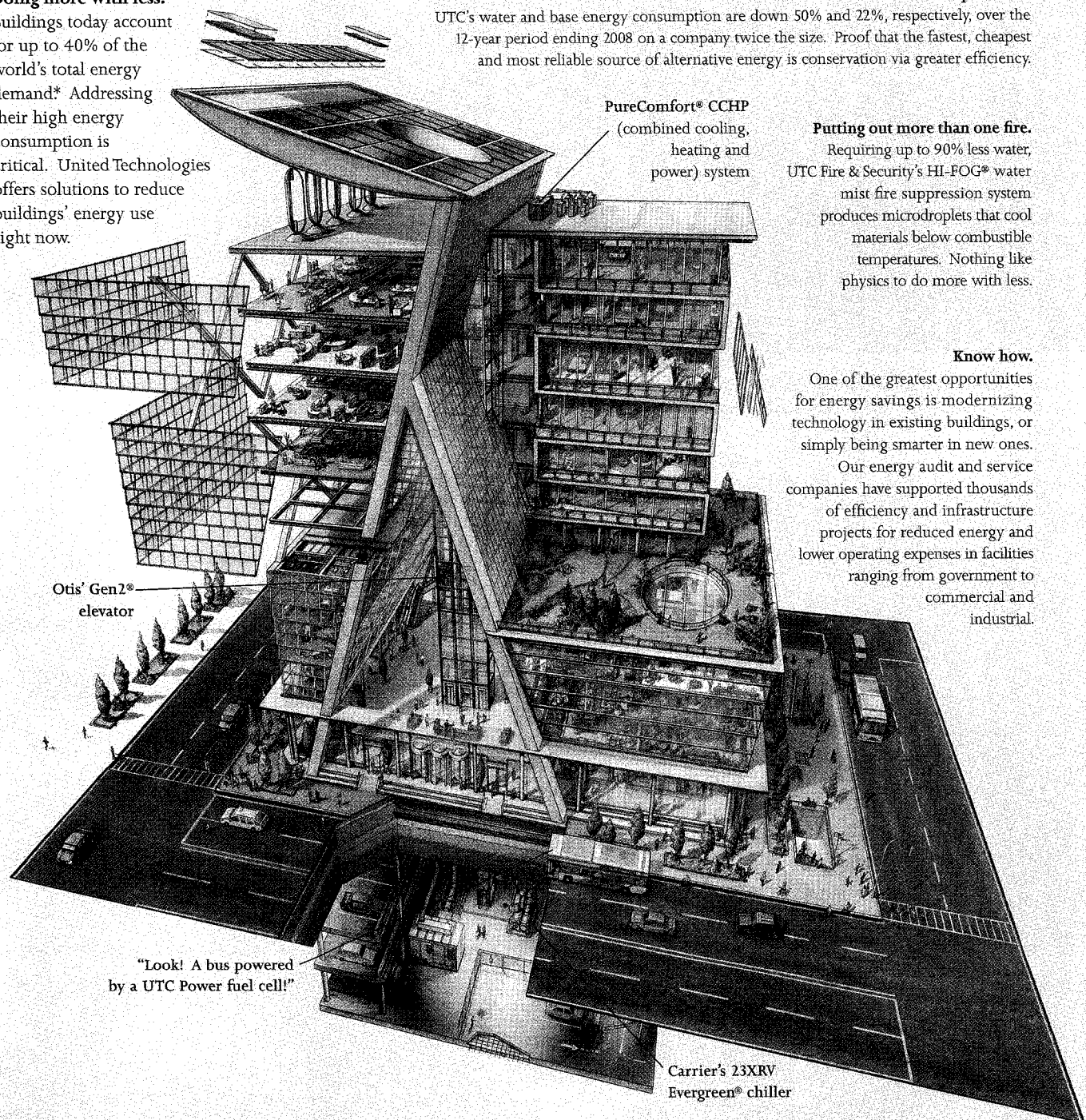
Putting out more than one fire.

Requiring up to 90% less water, UTC Fire & Security's HI-FOG® water mist fire suppression system produces microdroplets that cool materials below combustible temperatures. Nothing like physics to do more with less.

Know how.

One of the greatest opportunities for energy savings is modernizing technology in existing buildings, or simply being smarter in new ones.

Our energy audit and service companies have supported thousands of efficiency and infrastructure projects for reduced energy and lower operating expenses in facilities ranging from government to commercial and industrial.



HERE IT IS. THE BLUEPRINT FOR ENERGY EFFICIENCY.

Technology exists today that can reduce energy consumption in buildings by up to 70%** the equivalent of taking every single car, truck and bus in the world off the road. Doing its part is United Technologies. No other company spans the critical systems that improve energy efficiency in buildings: regenerative elevators, onsite power generation, energy efficient heating and cooling systems, and energy audits that measure buildings' performance. We've sized the opportunity, now we need to make it happen. Learn more about how to change buildings from the greatest users of energy to the most efficient at utc.com.



**United
Technologies**

You can see everything from here.

CARRIER | HAMILTON SUNDSTRAND | OTIS | PRATT & WHITNEY | SIKORSKY | UTC FIRE & SECURITY | UTC POWER

*International Energy Agency, "Worldwide Trends in Energy Efficiency," 2008.

**National Science and Technology Council, "Federal Research and Development Agenda for Net-Zero Energy, High-Performance Green Buildings," October 2008.

CLEANER. FASTER. SMARTER

355 hp EcoBoost™ V6, with new twin-turbo direct-injection technology, delivers 30% more hp, less CO₂ emissions, and higher fuel efficiency than MKS AWD 3.7L V6.*

INTRODUCING THE NEW
2010 LINCOLN MKS
with available



LINCOLN
REACH HIGHER

LINCOLN.COM

*Horsepower achieved with premium fuel. Faster than MKS AWD 3.7L V6 based on 0-60 mph times. EPA-estimated 17 city/25 hwy mpg, EcoBoost™ AWD. Optional features shown.

DISPATCHES

THE MILITARY *Brian Mockenhaupt considers the bitter moral calculus of an Army field hospital.*

MUSIC *James Parker on the countercultural Jesus-freakery roiling Philly's music scene*

CHINA *James Fallows visits a newly ancient city in Yunnan province.*

CRIME *Linnet Myers Burden meets the mortician to Chicago's murder-weary families.*

CITIZENSHIP *Will Wilkinson becomes a dreamer of the Canadian dream.*

FOOD *Corby Kummer visits a candy factory dedicated to an unlikely constituency.*

TRAVEL *Rachel Dickinson navigates angry storms and massive locks along the Erie Canal.*

TECHNOLOGY *Witold Rybczynski on the suburban delusions undermining sustainable architecture*



THE MILITARY

The Doctor's War

FOR WOUNDED CIVILIANS AT A U.S. MILITARY HOSPITAL IN AFGHANISTAN, THE GATEKEEPER IS GOD.

By Brian Mockenhaupt

FIVE KIDS BLOWN UP playing with a land mine in the Alasay Valley, northeast of Kabul. The call came late on a slow afternoon, and the medevac crew at Bagram Air Field, the main U.S. base in Afghanistan, waited for the go-ahead to pick up its patients. But just as soldiers have rules of engagement for when and whom they can shoot, battlefield doctors have rules for when and whom they can help. And at this moment, the U.S. military's Craig Joint Theater Hospital at Bagram didn't have the room; some

beds had to be left open in case wounded coalition troops were brought in.

The medevac crew, call sign Dustoff, grew frustrated. "Sometimes we need to step up and deal with this stuff," said Staff Sergeant Rob Walters, senior medic for Charlie Company, 1st Battalion, 168th Regiment Medevac, a mix of National Guard soldiers from California, Nevada, and Wyoming. A moment later, a fresh call came over the radio: "You now have three patients. Two just died." Walters groaned.

The Egyptian military, which also runs a hospital at Bagram, agreed to take the kids, and the Charlie Company helicopter roared off over the mountains. The hospital, housed in plywood buildings, is clean but cramped—think *M*A*S*H*—and lacks the high-tech equipment of the American facility. Most mornings, 300 or more Afghans queue outside for outpatient treatment, but the hospital has limited ability to deal with complex trauma cases, and these children had been devastated by the blast. One had a sucking chest wound, which the Egyptians would have trouble treating; the Americans agreed to take him, and only him. As nurses prepared the emergency room at the U.S. hospital, Colonel Robert Rush, deputy commander for clinical services, sweat-soaked from a workout, pulled an ER

doctor aside. "If they try to bring three patients in here, tell them no. We don't have the room," he said.

The American military traditionally treats anyone injured on the battlefield, when time and resources allow. Top priority goes to coalition military, which includes Afghan security forces. Next are civilians injured in fighting, whether the wounds are caused by the coalition or by insurgents. Lastly, the hospital treats charity cases—birth defects, cooking accidents, falls from rooftops.

At the Bagram American hospital, even before the United States recast its focus from killing insurgents to protecting and helping the local people, the staff spent much of its time treating Afghans. Foreign coalition soldiers usually cycle through the hospital within 24 hours, moving on to military facilities in Europe. The Afghans, a mix of soldiers and civilians, might stay for weeks. In a country with poor medical care and an oversupply of the sick and wounded, the need is always greater than the ability to help. And as this year's fighting season had warmed up, the hospital beds had filled with war-wounded, which raised the entrance bar for new civilian patients. The dismal task of deciding who would be admitted—who would live, really—fell to Rush.

The Dustoff bird landed, and a hospital team rolled the first stretcher toward the ER entrance. Rush stood outside, blocking the door. "Is that the sucking chest wound?" he asked.

"No," flight medic Sergeant Steve Park said.

"He's going to the Egyptian hospital," Rush said. "I'm sorry, but I've got to do it. We're red on beds."

Park's face flashed from bafflement to anger. "This kid needs [an airway] tube in a bad way," he said. Rush walked up to the stretcher and looked down at a 10-year-old boy, his lower face a mess of blood, bone, teeth, and flesh. "All right," Rush said. "Bring him in."

A half-dozen doctors and nurses descended on the boy, who was awake and terrified. His eyes flitted from face to face. Doctors removed the tourniquet on each leg and slipped a breathing tube through the pulp that was his face. The smaller boy with the chest wound lay on the next table. Air bubbled through a

hole in his chest and a piece of intestine poked through his abdomen. The third boy had left by ambulance for the Egyptian hospital. Park stood back a few feet and watched, now a spectator. He does the same work as a paramedic back in Reno, Nevada.

"We do this day in and day out at home, but they fit in nice little parameters," he had said earlier that day. "These calls just don't fit in that little box. They're not normal." The boys were wheeled off to surgery. Park lingered in the empty emergency room, which was littered with blood-soaked bandages. "Look," he said, and pointed to a janitor scrubbing spattered blood from the floor. "This is one of the worst calls I've ever had in my life," he said. "How often do you see a kid with his jaw blown off? This will never fit in the box."

The next morning the boys slept under sedation in the intensive-care unit, strung to a jungle of tubes and hoses. They didn't look like the same kids, now cleaned of blood and charred skin. And the older boy's jaw wasn't missing; it had just been turned inside out. He was whole again, his mouth sewn back together by a plastic surgeon, and he would go home to his village in a few weeks, bearing the scars of the lucky and the cursed. ■

Brian Mockenhaupt is a fellow at the Alicia Patterson Foundation and a former infantryman.

MUSIC

Sing to the Lord a New Song

CHRISTIAN ROCK CROSSES OVER IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE.

By James Parker

SWAMI-LIKE AND PEDAGOGICAL in skullcap, glasses, corduroy blazer, and striped tie, with the first Beatitude ("Blessed are the poor in spirit ...") tattooed on his wrists, Aaron Weiss steps into the street after his band's sound check and is promptly cornered by a young man wearing a homemade AARON WEISS T-shirt. The young man has questions, questions; Weiss nods, smiles, radiates. The world is looking very worldly this evening, in Philadelphia's Chinatown—the dazed conventioners issuing from the nearby 1,400-room Marriott; the seamed faces of the homeless—but here outside the Trocadero Theatre, we're running a slight spiritual temperature. Local theophile band *mewithoutYou* is playing a sold-out show, and the air holds the possibility that the kingdom of God, if it doesn't descend to Earth tonight, will at least lower itself by a couple of inches.

Oh, to be a young believer in Philadelphia right now, where the spirit of Christian activism is mingling



JOSH COCHRAN

vigorously with an apparently unkillable strain of old-school countercultural Jesus-freakery. Here, if you're listening, you'll hear hosannas on the streets, and a flavor of tambourines. A band called Psalters mounts an ululating, multi-drum offensive against the capitalist hegemony. They dress the part, too—if you saw this lot coming on a dark night, you'd run. The dreadlocked Shane Claiborne is here, author of *The Irresistible Revolution* (2006) and a leader of a movement known as the New Monasticism. Claiborne co-founded the Simple Way community in Philadelphia's Kensington neighborhood in 1998, and the area has since grown to include a branch of the young storefront evangelical church Circle of Hope. Weiss typically visits Circle of Hope on Sundays, before dropping by the Bawa Muhaiyaddeen Fellowship in West Philly. (Bawa Muhaiyaddeen was a Sufi sage to whose teaching Weiss's parents introduced him.)

MewithoutYou's musical progress, since the band's late 2001 inception, has been a four-album arc from soul-quaking post-punk to a kind of misfit bucolic opera. The new album, *it's all crazy! it's all false! it's all a dream! it's alright*, is quaint, rapturous, excessive, ventilated by tubas and campfire sing-alongs: "What a beautiful God, what a beautiful God, what a beautiful God there must be!" The sound would actually make a nice fit with the "freak folk" scene—Joanna Newsom, early Animal Collective, and so on—except that that scene, insofar as it has a religious bias at all, tilts away from Christianity and toward post-'60s neopaganism. "I don't believe in desert religions," sniffs my local indie bellwether. "I believe in the forest."

Mike Weiss, Aaron's brother and bandmate, was a student at Temple University and an acolyte of straight edge—the scowling, ascetic ideology that emerged out of early hard-core punk—when he was drawn into the orbit of an evangelical church. "I resisted it," he explains over a preshow plate of pad Thai. "I was in a band called I Hate You, and I was trying to reconcile this newfound faith in Jesus with this band where we were talking about people beating the crap out of you if you're going to smoke a cigarette in front of me. But I was drawn to it because it was so fundamental.

You know, you go around handing out tracts to people, making sure that they know that if they don't get right with God, the Rapture's going to come and they'll get left behind."

Gradually evolving away from fundamentalism, the Weiss brothers and three friends formed mewithoutYou, whose lyrics—screamed, muttered, chanted, or Beat-istically declaimed by Aaron—are the chronicle of a sustained personal push me/pull you with one's Maker: "You might seem too strong to surrender, boy," warns a voice in 2002's "The Ghost." "But you're far too frail to fight." They signed with Tooth & Nail, the Seattle-based label that has led the pack in establishing Christian rock as a parallel musical universe. Want Christian grunge? Christian metal? Christian indie? Christian emo? Christian screamo? In 2009, you can have it all, and a lot of it is on Tooth & Nail. MewithoutYou, the label's most interesting act, might also be its most heretical: having spiraled along the spiritual trajectory of its mercurial singer, the band now wraps up its live set with what can only be described as a Sufi worship song: "In everyone we meet / Allah, Allah, Allah! / In everyone we meet."

The kids, not appreciably cleaner or less inked-and-pierced than your average rock rabble, love Aaron Weiss. And he loves them back. But stardom is a vexation. Electrifyingly present as a front man—onstage he'll stand with feet together and elbows tucked in, as if forcing himself through a narrow space, before detonating into a sudden harlequin dance—he also seems somehow on the point of disappearance. "I guess I'm reluctant to talk about God as if I understand what God is doing," he tells me before the show, "but whoever's in charge—whoever put me here and whoever sees me and really understands me—really won't leave me alone, won't let me rest with those things that, deep down, I know are vain and selfish." And so he recedes, through phases of Bob Dylan-esque self-abnegation, while his band pushes forward with its bliss-filled racket. The audience at the Troc knows every word: "I do not exist... Only You exist... I do not exist..." ■

James Parker is an Atlantic contributing editor.

CHINA Village Dreamers

IN YUNNAN PROVINCE, TWO AMERICANS STRUGGLE TO SAVE AN ANCIENT TOWN FROM KITSCH.
By James Fallows

IN A LUSHLY beautiful corner of China, an experiment is under way to determine how lush and beautiful the country can remain—or become—as its economy continues to grow. The test is occurring in Yunnan province, the hilly and subtropical area just north of Burma, Laos, and Vietnam, and it has brought together an improbable combination of American and Chinese personalities, institutions, and historical connections.

The main American player is Brian Linden, 47 years old, who came to China in 1984 and has been here most of the time since. Linden is well over six feet tall, with expressive, theatrical features that once were familiar to hundreds of millions of people. Soon after his arrival, he was spotted by a movie director while jogging down a Beijing street and cast as the lead in a Chinese movie. The film, *He Came From Across the Pacific*, was based on the tragic story of John Zeidman, an American exchange student who caught viral encephalitis in China and died in 1982. In one emotional scene, Linden, who has learned that he is dying, leans over and kisses his female Chinese friend—chastely, on the forehead. Or so I was told by Linden this spring, as he melodramatically reenacted the scene with his wife, Jeanee.



In the early 1980s, Linden worked in China as a cameraman and translator for CBS. After graduate study at Stanford, he returned in the 1990s and traveled constantly across China, spending at least 200 nights aboard Chinese trains. While studying at the Hopkins-Nanjing Center, he met and eventually married Jeanee Quan, whose grandparents were from southern China but who had grown up in San Francisco, speaking English but not Chinese. In fairness and because it's relevant to the Lindens' bearing as public figures in China, I should point out that she too is tall by China's standards, and pretty by anyone's.

Linden's parents had run an antique shop in Chicago, and through the 1990s Brian and Jeanee built an Asian-arts-and-antiques business. They spent much of each year traveling to Asian villages to buy paintings, furniture, and *objets*, which they then sold in the summertime at a gallery in the upscale resort community of Door County, Wisconsin. All the while, Linden says, they were looking for something more—a place where they could build a cultural center that would preserve and honor Chinese arts and handicrafts and, they hoped, provide a haven for creative artists from around the world.

Throughout my time in China, I was attracted to dreamers—to people, Chinese and foreign, with big plans for what they'd like to achieve in the country. This is no doubt what drew me to the Lindens when I met them in Beijing last year and what led our families to become friends. After they had spent years considering locations, including three years in which they home-schooled their two young sons in hotel rooms, they found what they were looking for. (The two boys, now ages 13 and 10, are still being home-schooled.) They sold their house in America and put the proceeds into a derelict four-courtyard compound in the Yunnan village of Xizhou.

Xizhou (the name means “happy town”) is a sleepy-looking place with an impressive history, on the shores of Erhai Lake, 12 miles north of the larger and better-known city of Dali. To get there, you either fly nonstop from Beijing, Shanghai, or Hong Kong to Lijiang and then drive two or three hours, or you fly to Kunming, stay

overnight, and fly to Dali the next day (the flights are morning-only, so you can't make the trip in one day). There are normal Chinese hotels in the vicinity, but most Westerners will prefer the Linden Centre, at about \$100 a night.

Through the long era of trade in tea and horses between this part of China and Tibet and Burma, Xizhou was an enclave for prosperous merchants, officials, and scholars. The people of the region are mainly from the Bai ethnic group; Bai cities have a distinct architectural style, with sharply arched roofs and richly decorated tile work and wall paintings. During World War II, the Yale-in-China campus ended up in Xizhou, for safety from the oncoming Japanese. When Flying Tigers aviators flew supplies from Burma to Chiang Kai-shek's nationalists in Chungking (now Chongqing), American radio and radar operators in Xizhou were one of their first points of contact after they made it over the Himalayan hump.

The crumbly radar complex is still there—the Lindens hope to make it a museum—and so are Yale's old Bai-style buildings. All around those structures and the courtyard compound the Lindens have bought is an expanse of paddy land that stretches to Erhai Lake on one side and to the Himalayan foothills on the other. In arid northern and western China, to depend on the land for sustenance is to be poor. In Xizhou the soil is so rich, the rain so steady, and the climate so mild that the valley has a sense of rural abundance like that of the American Midwest. In poor farm villages of the drylands, children wear rubber flip-flops or often-repaired hand-me-down shoes. The shoes we saw on children's feet in Xizhou looked stylish and new.

In Xizhou, the Lindens worked with party officials to secure something rarely accorded foreigners: the right to use a “Class A” historical relic and restore it—its tiling, wooden arches and fretwork, painted murals. The buildings survived the 1960s because a People's Liberation Army detachment had encamped there, keeping out the Red Guards. The Lindens have invested their savings in the faith that the rest of the town will be restored in similar taste—as local officials assure them—making the Linden Centre and

Xizhou an internationally appealing cultural destination.

This is a big assumption in today's China, where the population is rich enough to travel domestically in huge numbers but where the aesthetic of travel is unrefined by Western standards. People travel in big groups, on big buses, behind guides with flags, to a prescribed list of “famous” sites. Across China, “ancient” villages are being redeveloped in a kitschy, gift-shop-heavy way epitomized by Lijiang, 100 miles north of Xizhou, a favorite stop of many Chinese tour groups and a disappointment to most Westerners. On my first visit to Xizhou, Brian Linden assured me that the local officials had all “learned from Lijiang” and were planning to do something “really authentic and classy.” On my second visit, I wandered into a real-estate showroom complete with models of a new housing estate to be built in “Ancient Xizhou.” I hope the Lindens have bet right. ■

James Fallows is an Atlantic national correspondent; his blog is at jamesfallows.theatlantic.com.

CRIME

Teenage Wasteland

A CHICAGO FUNERAL HOME'S BUSINESS IS GROWING, FOR ALL THE WRONG REASONS.

By Linnet Myers Burden

ALMOST FOUR SCORE years old, Leak & Sons Funeral Home, on Cottage Grove Avenue, is something of an institution on Chicago's South Side. (In 1964, for example, it was the site of the funeral for crooner Sam Cooke.) It is also something of a barometer for murder, much to the dismay of Spencer Leak Sr., the proprietor: he buried at least 56 homicide victims between January 1 and August 1, too many of them much closer to 18 than to 80. Last year, he buried 85 homicide victims in all, the vast majority of them kids, part of a surge in young homicides that saw 37 Chicago public-school students, almost all of them African American or Hispanic, killed in the 2008–09 school year, up from 27 the year before.



The casket of 23-year-old Deonta Mansheck, allegedly shot by a 15-year-old, at the Leak & Sons Funeral Home, Easter 2009.

One warm, sunny Saturday, mourners stream in for two funerals for two homicide victims in chapels across the hall from each other. In one chapel, Brandon Earl Little, 19, lies in a wooden casket, wearing a Chicago White Sox baseball cap. Across the hall, Jessica Sade Wesson, 18, is laid out in a white ruffled blouse, her hands folded under a sheer white cloth. Wesson was found behind a middle school, strangled and stabbed. Little was gunned down in broad daylight, carrying his own weapon as two other men chased him down the street.

Four young women enter the first chapel, stroll down the aisle, gaze at Wesson's body for a long moment, whisper to each other, and file out. Wrong chapel. They try again, look into Little's casket, and burst into tears. Soon afterward, dozens of young men, sporting tattoos and low-hanging pants, drift in. One tattoo displays a fist and the words PAY ME. Another has a dollar sign next to the phrase WHEN MONEY TALKS, I LISTEN. The youths line the wall, some

with eyes unflinching. Others sniffle or shake with sobs, unable to stop. A slim young man wearing a shirt that shows a skull and reads R.I.P. BRANDON LITTLE, YOUR RICHES ARE ACQUIRED BY THE MISFORTUNE AND BLOODSHED OF OTHERS crouches, covering his face.

As the services for Wesson and Little begin, the words of the two preachers echo and blend in the hallway. In one chapel, Wesson's mother speaks: "My baby, she was good. She was real good." Across the hall, the Reverend Joseph McAfee aims his words at the young men who crowd the chapel's pews. "All you know is kill, kill, kill," McAfee says.

"Preach!" cry some of the mourners.

"Are you the next Brandon? ... Is your funeral gonna be the next one?"

"Better think about it!" a woman calls.

"Stop the Brandons," says McAfee. "Stop the madness!"

Leak, who is as tall and dignified as you could hope a mortician would be, says he'd much rather bury an elderly man who died of natural causes. "Then

you're arranging a funeral that turns out to be a celebration of life." Business would be simpler, too. As it is, Leak sometimes braces for violence, wary of gang members seeking revenge. Other times, he finds himself counselor to heartbroken mothers whose children were struck by bullets meant for someone else. And many crime victims require complex restoration work. "The worst are beatings with blunt objects like baseball bats or tire irons," says Jeraldine McCall, who works as an embalmer at Leak & Sons, "or someone stabbed in the face 40 times."

As an African American man, Leak despairs. And as the holder of a master's degree in criminal justice, a former director of Chicago's Cook County Jail, and the chairman of the Black on Black Love anticrime organization, he has his own theories about who or what is to blame. In particular, Leak is convinced that most youths who become violent can't read above the third-grade level. "They have this hatred for themselves, because they're not going anywhere."

He hopes that his fellow South Sider, President Barack Obama, whose Chicago home is about 30 blocks away, will devote some attention to low-income children who can't read. "They are our future murderers," Leak says. And his future customers. ■

Linnet Myers Burden's first novel, Les Ombres de Chicago, was recently published in France.

CITIZENSHIP

Go North, Young Man!

HOW I GOT IN TOUCH WITH MY INNER CANADIAN

By Will Wilkinson

AS THE CLOCK struck midnight on April 17, 2009, the Canadian citizenship of my Saskatchewan-born but subsequently naturalized American father was restored. And thus, thanks to Bill C-37, an amendment to the Canadian Citizenship Act, so was mine. Under its terms, all Canadians who had lost their citizenship when they took on a new nationality—i.e., Canadians like my dad, who became an American in June 1965—regained it, as did their first generation of offspring.

Maybe it takes an Iowan to get stoked about becoming Canadian, but I was sufficiently stoked to travel to Ottawa a couple days shy of this magical moment so that I would suddenly become always Canadian in Canada's capital, among other so-called lost Canadians.

I work for a libertarian think tank, and libertarians are supposed to disdain the land of *poutine* and Dan Aykroyd for its socialist health-care system and general failure to really love liberty. Yet not only can you get gay-married in any of the provinces, or almost-legally toke up in your toque up there, but Canada's economy is also slightly freer than that of the global hegemon to its south. According to the Cato Institute, at least.

But even more important to me is the conviction—a libertarian conviction, I believe—that crossing national borders ought to differ little from crossing the imagined line between Iowa and Minnesota. That's really why I'm so keen about being Canadian. I want my own boundaries to widen, as I'd like everyone's boundaries to widen. Also, I can now put the Canadian flag on my backpack.

After dining with other lost Canadians the evening before I became a citizen, I found myself walking the not-so-mean streets of Ottawa alone an hour before midnight. So I wandered into the Royal Oak, an English pub on Bank Street. I persuaded some game locals, Austin and Rachelle, to share a toast and snap my picture in front of the Maple Leaf hanging behind the bar.

Midnight! To gain a citizenship in one magical moment, without exertion or will, is to experience as an adult the national baptism that

comes with birth. I felt exhilarated, if a bit of a fraud. Austin and Rachelle were exceedingly kind to me. We exchanged cell-phone numbers. We agreed to connect on Facebook. We all understood that I am a thoroughgoing American, qualifying as Canadian through a weird technicality. But they were happy for me, happy to have me. Because they're Canadians, I suppose.

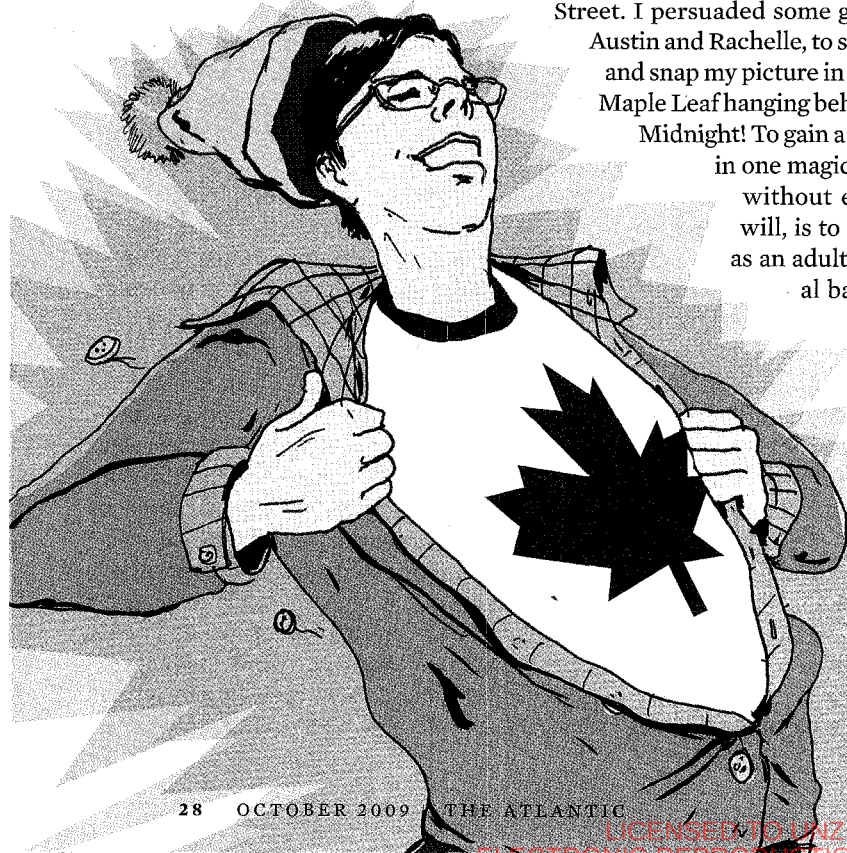
My first full day as a citizen turned out to be overclimactically surreal. While arranging an interview with Jason Kenney, the minister of citizenship, immigration, and multiculturalism, I had agreed in passing that his office could point reporters toward me, an example of a newfound Canadian. So the morning of the 17th, I discover that an article about the just-effectuated bill from the Canadian Press wire service begins and ends with the case of Will Wilkinson. (For the first time, it is said that I have an "American" fiancée.) Through Twitter, I learn that a pundit friend in D.C. has received an e-mail from the Canadian government that mentions me by name. I have become the exemplary lost Canadian. I'm vain enough to be tickled and Canadian enough to be mortified, as I tour the carefully curated office of Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, with other lost Canadians, many of whom have waited decades for this day.

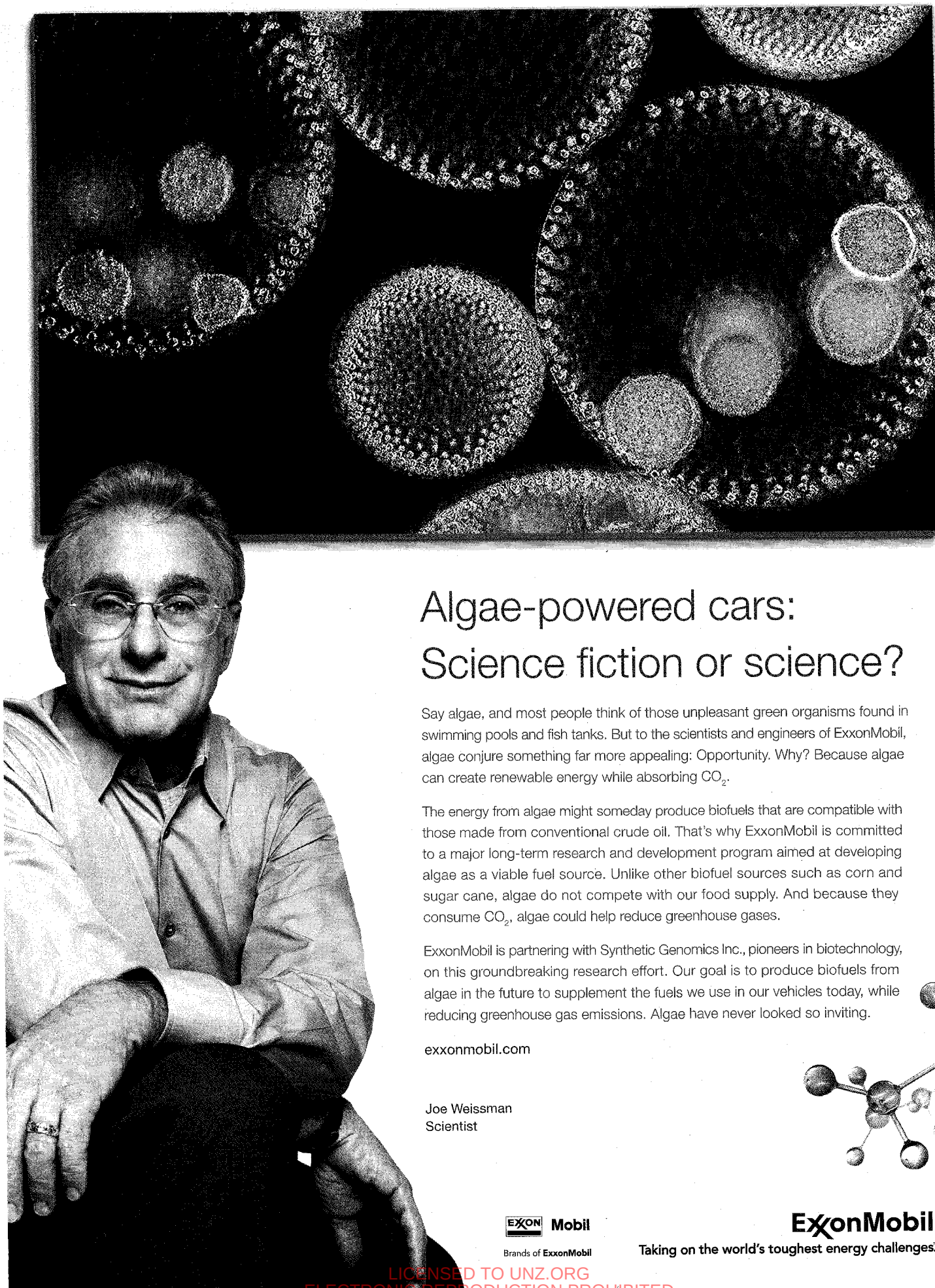
In the afternoon, I meet with Kenney to discuss the new law. An assistant photographs us shaking hands in front of a flag. The minister himself seems damn happy to have me.

At dinner after our first Canadian day, one of us, Dean Echenberg, a physician from California, produces his Canadian passport, which he has managed to secure on the first possible day. We pass it around the table and marvel. It is real.

I return to Iowa with a Maple Leaf pin on my backpack. I give my American fiancée her present: a ridiculous action figure of Macdonald, complete with reading table and book. He was a "father of confederation," I explain. I tell her what the enthusiastic Parliament tour guide told me: "Sir John A. Macdonald was a dreamer." ■

Will Wilkinson is a research fellow at the Cato Institute and the editor of Cato Unbound.





Algae-powered cars: Science fiction or science?

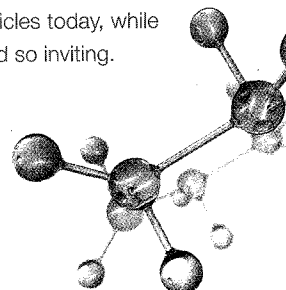
Say algae, and most people think of those unpleasant green organisms found in swimming pools and fish tanks. But to the scientists and engineers of ExxonMobil, algae conjure something far more appealing: Opportunity. Why? Because algae can create renewable energy while absorbing CO_2 .

The energy from algae might someday produce biofuels that are compatible with those made from conventional crude oil. That's why ExxonMobil is committed to a major long-term research and development program aimed at developing algae as a viable fuel source. Unlike other biofuel sources such as corn and sugar cane, algae do not compete with our food supply. And because they consume CO_2 , algae could help reduce greenhouse gases.

ExxonMobil is partnering with Synthetic Genomics Inc., pioneers in biotechnology, on this groundbreaking research effort. Our goal is to produce biofuels from algae in the future to supplement the fuels we use in our vehicles today, while reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Algae have never looked so inviting.

exxonmobil.com

Joe Weissman
Scientist



EXXON Mobil
Brands of ExxonMobil

ExxonMobil
Taking on the world's toughest energy challenges.™

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



FOOD

Sugar and Spice

REINVENTING OLD-FASHIONED CANDY, NATURALLY

By Corby Kummer

SUGAR IS MY caffeine. I require daily infusions. Whether that makes me an addict is a matter of dispute. In her *The Taste of Sweet*, Joanne Chen relied on the official definitions: compulsively seeking a fix, and resorting to destructive behavior to get it. David Kessler, author of the recent *The End of Overeating*, would say that my brain is a tool of the food industry, which re-wires people to crave ever more of the sugar, salt, and fat it pumps into everything. Luckily, I have a sugar threshold, however startlingly high.

I feed my own, shall we say, need by looking for good sugar. In sodas, the trend toward using cane syrup in place of high-fructose corn syrup and natural versus synthetic flavors is well under way, even if higher-priced boutique sodas remain a niche market (and even if Thomas Frieden, the new head of the CDC, says that sodas lie at the heart of the country's obesity epidemic). Premium ice cream and chocolate remain "affordable luxuries" in the bad economy, and national candy sales are growing fast. You'd think there would be a parallel trend toward artisanal, non-chocolate candy, using better sugar

and non-synthesized flavorings. There hasn't been.

I was delighted when a Boston-based company with the whimsical name of Tiny Trapeze starting making old-fashioned candy on old-fashioned candy machines but using organic sugar and all-natural ingredients. Alas, after buying the company, Whole Foods closed it last April. No more cocoa marshmallows! As for the regional candy companies that blanketed the country during the first Depression, the few remaining ones—which Steve Almond entertainingly toured for his 2004 *Candyfreak*—are still struggling to survive, and unlikely to put organic sugar and hard-to-get-right natural flavors and colors into embattled business plans.

But I did find heartening Halloween news: Necco wafers, a roll of which I try always to have in my jacket pocket, are just now changing from artificial flavors and neon colors to toned-down natural flavors and lovely, muted colors.

I pay attention to the color of Necco wafers the way others do M&M's, which don't even change flavor by color. Necco flavors are proudly peculiar. "It's a very odd combination, fruit and spice," Jeff Green, who has been in charge of

production and innovation at Necco for more than 25 years, told me. His favorite is clove: "Who makes clove?"

The candy business is notoriously secretive. I wasn't allowed to see the old machinery that Jim Greenberg, the fourth-generation equipment salesman who is the country's real Candy Man, told me about; his family sold it to Necco, and he sold Tiny Trapeze its vintage machines. (Union Confectionery Machinery, his Bronx warehouse, is a true Island of Lost Toys, in which decrepit old machinery gets beautifully refurbished and buffed.) But at Necco, Green was generous in describing ingredients during a long, old-versus-new tasting that left me dizzy from a sugar rush.

Jackie Hague, the vice president of marketing, told me that Necco is a Boomer candy; all-natural flavors and colors, the company thought, would draw young mothers concerned about their children's diet. But non-synthetic colors are fugitive, and natural flavors can't be easily ratcheted up or down. Cinnamon, for example, made the thin sheet of sugar dough fall apart when the machines stamped out the wafers.

But Green persevered. The flavors he gave me were much, much subtler than the ones I was used to: cinnamon less like Red Hots, lemon less like paper candy dots and more like lemon-meringue-pie filling. And the colors: I was certain that Martha Stewart, who had recently featured Necco wafers on a wedding cake (historically apt; the *pièces montées* that made Marie-Antoine Carême perhaps the first star chef, in the early 19th century, were made of gum tragacanth, the base of Necco wafers and still the base of many wedding-cake decorations), would be designing a line of paints around them.

The biggest change by far was the chocolate, which went from what Green admitted was really vanilla with a hint of chocolate flavoring to all-cocoa, in four flavors yet. I tried the dark, which was so much more potent and less sugary-seeming that it was an outlier—but an outlier that will, I think, win over grown-ups who have long been uninterested in Neccos. And probably a fair number of trick-or-treaters, too. ■

Corby Kummer is an Atlantic senior editor and the curator of the food channel on theatlantic.com.

IWAN BAGUS

Can a drive have an afterglow?



Introducing the bigger, better all-new 2010 Legacy. A mid-size sedan with Symmetrical All-Wheel Drive to grip the road. A SUBARU BOXER® engine gives you a low center of gravity for unmatched balance. Add 31 mpg.* and you get one unique sense of satisfaction. Feel the love. **Love. It's what makes a Subaru, a Subaru.**





Water travelers can still glimpse the original hand-cut limestone canal locks—like Lock 16, near the Mohawk River.

TRAVEL

A Hundred Miles on the Erie Canal

CRUISING ACROSS UPSTATE NEW YORK, AT FIVE MILES PER HOUR

By Rachel Dickinson

EVERY TIME I steered my boat past a stone bridge abutment, I'd begin to whispering, "Low bridge, everybody down / Low bridge, for we're coming to a town." Certainly that irrepressible song is what comes to most people's minds when they hear mention of this historic waterway, even if they've never "navigated on the Erie Canal." As a native upstate New Yorker, I had decided it was time to broaden my canal repertoire, and get on the water.

My boat, hired for a week, was steel, sleek, and low-slung, and painted maroon with yellow and green trim and a knotty-pine interior. Mid-Lakes Navigation built these self-skipped canal boats to be both rugged and comfortable. With a full galley, a head with a shower, beds for six, and bicycles for trips ashore, the *Cayuga* became my home as I explored the central part of the Erie Canal and its connecting waterways—which bisect New York

through the backsides of towns like Palmyra, Newark, Lyons, Clyde, Seneca Falls, and Waterloo.

It's hard to fathom the impact the Erie Canal had on the growth of our newly minted democracy. The canal, which some might call America's first economic stimulus package, was the brainchild of Jesse Hawley, a failed businessman who wrote—from debtors prison—anonymous articles envisioning a canal that would connect the Hudson River to Lake Erie, linking the port of New York with the West and turning wilderness into wealth. His ideas finally found an ally in the prominent New Yorker, and future governor, De Witt Clinton.

Construction began in 1817 and took eight years, thousands of workers, and \$7.1 million to complete. Solving engineering problems required sheer genius, and involved draining swamps, constructing

aqueducts, making cement that hardened underwater, clearing forests, and building the massive locks. When finished, "Clinton's Ditch" covered 363 miles, was about 40 feet wide and four feet deep, and rose 573 feet through a series of 83 locks. When the waterway opened, in 1825, it unlocked the floodgates to western settlement. Even though within decades it would be eclipsed by the railway, the Erie Canal was an important—and cheap—mode of transporting goods across the state for more than a century.

The canal has been enlarged several times, and today looks like a languid river. In many places it runs parallel to or completely obscures the original canal, which had towpaths on either side so mules could pull barges through the murky water. Every so often I'd spy what looked like Roman ruins made of limestone block—a bit of the old canal.

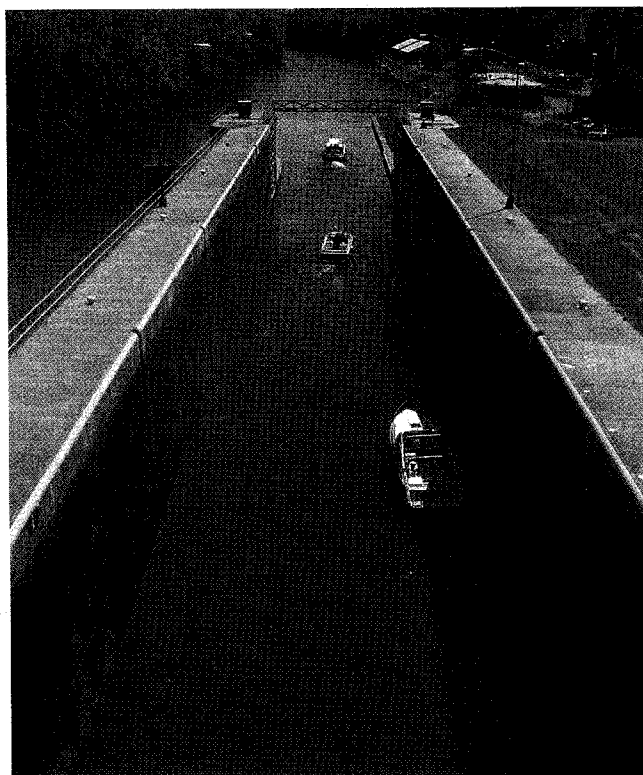
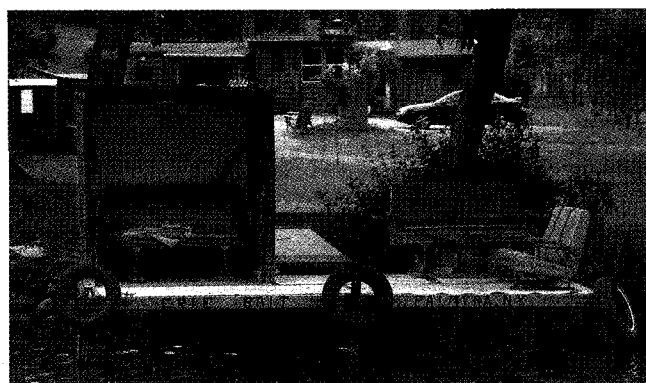
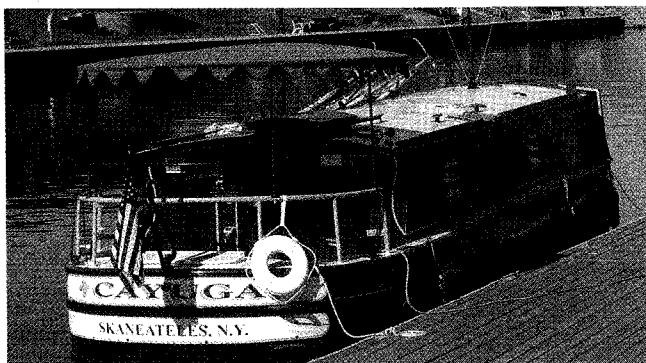
Cutting through farm fields, forests, and the outskirts of towns, the canal is used mainly by recreational boaters and state barges, and fishermen. People fish from chairs bolted to flat-bottomed bass boats, and from rickety wooden

MORE ONLINE

See photos of the author's Erie Canal trip: www.theatlantic.com/canalphotos

THEATLANTIC.COM

PHILIP SOLLA/ALAMY



Clockwise from top: the author's floating home-for-a-week, the Seneca Falls double lock for small boats, and a bankside hangout.

docks jutting into the water. At every opening in the lush vegetation along the shore, chairs face the water: plastic chairs, wooden chairs, Adirondack chairs, lounge chairs, kitchen chairs, and overturned buckets.

As the *Cayuga* sliced through the green water, spotted sandpipers ran along the stony banks. Great blue herons stood on snags and docks and took off with slow flaps when I came too close. Families of Canada geese—mother and father on either end with goslings in between—made forays into the canal. Red-tailed hawks, ospreys, and turkey vultures flew overhead. Belted kingfishers hunted from branches hanging over the water. In one four-mile stretch along Montezuma—a malarial swamp during the canal's construction and now a national wildlife refuge—eight bald eagles, including one adult and two young birds in a nest atop a high-tension pole, considered my passing. Toward dusk, metallic-blue barn swallows with orange bellies swooped and dived in front of the boat, hunting for insects.

The *Cayuga's* top cruising speed is 5.6 mph, not much more than the canal's original speed limit of 4 mph. Each

lock—and there were often several in a day's journey—could take up to 40 minutes to navigate. Upon approach, I would radio the lockmaster and let him know whether I needed east- or west-bound passage. Then I would control the *Cayuga* while the water rushed in or out through valves in the lock's floor.

When given the green light, I would pull the boat into the lock, place her along the cement sidewall (a feat with a boat that acts like a bath toy because it has no keel), and grab hold of a weighted line that ran down the side of the lock—slick with ooze from the canal water and sometimes covered with zebra mussels, the scourge of the Great Lakes. Huge metal gates would slowly shut behind me, and the lock would either fill or empty. The *Cayuga* might rise only six feet or, in the case of the double lock at Seneca Falls, the height of a five-story building.

Herman Melville once wrote:

Advance into knowledge is just like advance upon the Grand Erie canal, where, from the character of the country, change of level is inevitable; you are locked up and locked down with perpetual inconsistencies, and yet all the time you get on.

One day, as I stood at the tiller and motored toward the town of Newark, a line of angry thunderstorms raced toward me. I had three locks to go for the day. After the first, the lockmaster called ahead and had the next two get ready for me. At the last one I yelled up to the lockmaster and asked about the state of travel and traffic on the canal this year. "Judging from all the boats for sale on the side of the road, I think it's going to be a bad one," he said. Then he pointed to the *Cayuga* and shouted over the wind, "I sure hope Mid-Lakes Navigation makes it. I'd hate to see these canal boats go."

I pulled up to the wall in Newark and threw the stern line to a man who happened to be standing there, willing to help, just as big splats of rain hit my boat. I made the *Cayuga* snug, then hunkered down in my knotty-pine bunk. The rain pelted the steel roof and I wondered about the future of the grand canal, which has so far managed to weather almost 200 years of periodic economic storms. ■

Rachel Dickinson is the author of Falconer on the Edge: A Man, His Birds, and the Vanishing Landscape of the American West.

TECHNOLOGY

Home Truths

FORGET THE SOLAR PANELS AND THE RAIN BARRELS—
IF YOU WANT TO GO GREEN, LEAVE THE SUBURBS FOR THE CITY.

By Witold Rybczynski

NOWHERE HAS THE green-ing message had a bigger impact than in the building industry. Green or sustainable architecture is all the rage—as well it should be, because buildings use a lot of energy. The construction and operation of residential and commercial buildings consume as much as 40 percent of the energy used in the United States today.

The calculation of a building's total environmental impact must factor in everything from annual energy consumption to how and where building materials are manufactured and the handling of storm water. This requires some sort of rating system, and there are currently more than 40 of them in use around the world. Most, like LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design), which has become the standard in the United States, award points based on a checklist—daylighting, water recycling, solar panels, bicycle racks, and so on.

Although it is estimated that fewer than 6,000 projects have been certified in the United States in the 10 years since LEED was established, the program has significantly raised public and professional awareness. Yet a checklist approach has drawbacks. It tends to focus attention on unusual features, such as green roofs. Growing grass on a roof is definitely photogenic, but it is not as energy- and cost-efficient as simply painting the roof white (see "The California Experiment," page 66). And

checklists—even weighted checklists—may produce misleading results. Both a suburban office campus and an urban high-rise office building,

for example, can receive a high rating. As David Owen points out in his forthcoming *Green Metropolis: Why Living Smaller, Living Closer, and Driving Less Are the Keys to Sustainability*, in the office campus, people work in sprawling buildings and drive between them; in the high-rise, people work in a compact building, use elevators (which are inherently energy-efficient, since they are counterweighted), and walk to lunch.

Putting solar panels on the roofs doesn't change the essential fact that by any sensible measure, spread-out, low-rise buildings, with more foundations, walls, and roofs, have a larger carbon footprint than a high-rise office tower—even when the high-rise has no green features at all.

The problem in the sustainability campaign is that a basic truth has been lost, or at least concealed. Rather than trying to change behavior to actually reduce carbon emissions, politicians and entrepreneurs have sold greening to the public as a kind of accessorizing. Keep doing what you're doing, goes the message. Just add a solar panel, a wind turbine, a hybrid engine, whatever. But a solar-heated house in the burbs is still a house in the burbs, and if you have to drive to it, even in a Prius, it's hardly green.

Architectural journals and the Sunday supplements tout newfangled houses tricked out with rainwater-collection systems, solar arrays,

and bamboo flooring. Yet any detached single-family house has more external walls and roof—and hence more heating loads in winter and cooling loads in summer—than a comparable attached townhouse, and each consumes more energy than an apartment in a multifamily building. Again, it doesn't really matter how many green features are present. A reasonably well-built and well-insulated multifamily building is inherently more sustainable than a detached house. Similarly, an old building on an urban site, adapted and reused, is greener than any new building on a newly developed site.

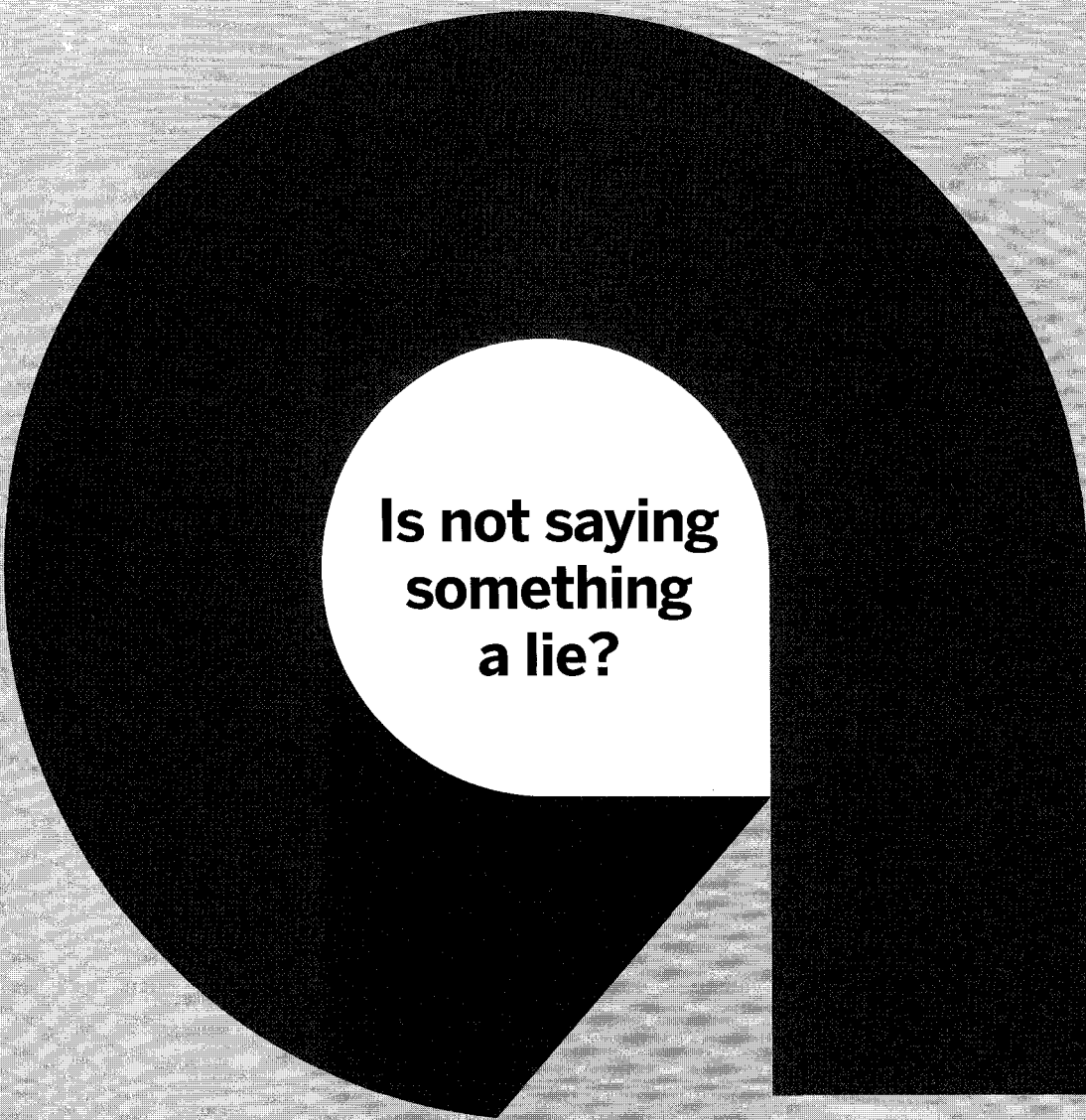
A Thoreau-like existence in the great outdoors isn't green. Density is green. Does this mean that we all have to live in Manhattan? Not necessarily. Cities such as Stockholm and Copenhagen are dense without being vertical. And closer to home is Montreal, where the predominant housing form is a three- or four-story walk-up. Walk-ups, which don't require elevators, can create a sufficient density—about 50 people per acre—to support public transit, walkability, and other urban amenities. Increasing an area's density requires changing zoning to allow smaller lots and compact buildings such as walk-ups and townhouses.

In other words, being truly green means returning to the kinds of dense cities and garden suburbs Americans built in the first half of the 20th century. A tall order—but after the binge

of the last housing boom, many Americans might be ready to consider a little downsizing. ■

Witold Rybczynski is Meyerson Professor of Urbanism at the University of Pennsylvania and the author of *My Two Polish Grandfathers*.

SHOUT



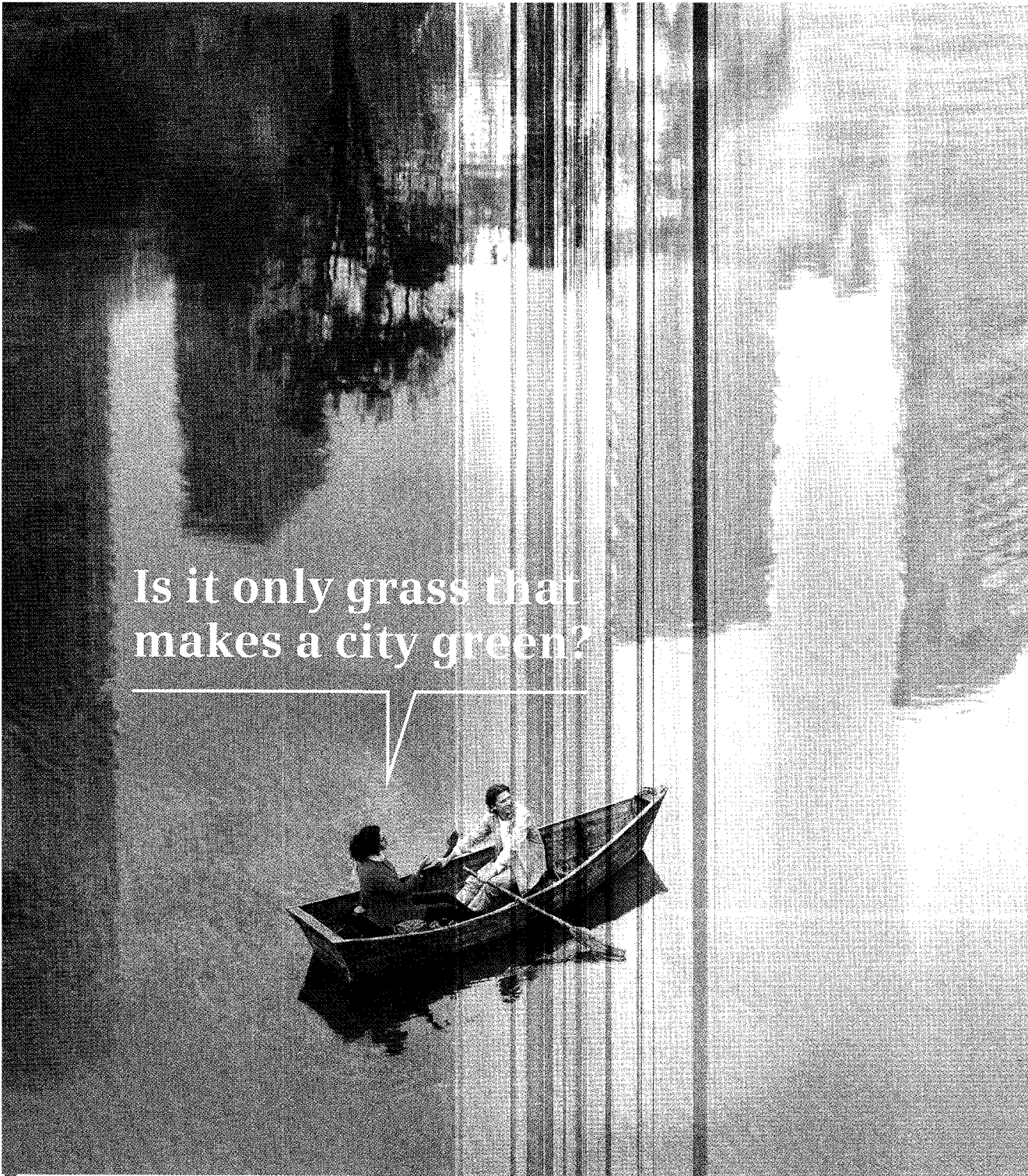
**Is not saying
something
a lie?**

In banking, there's profit and there's integrity.
It shouldn't be a choice between the two.
At Ally Bank, we value integrity as much as deposits.
That's why we'll send an email alert if money sitting idle in
your account could be working harder and earning more.
It's just the right thing to do.

allyTM

Straightforward.

877-247-ALLY | allybank.com



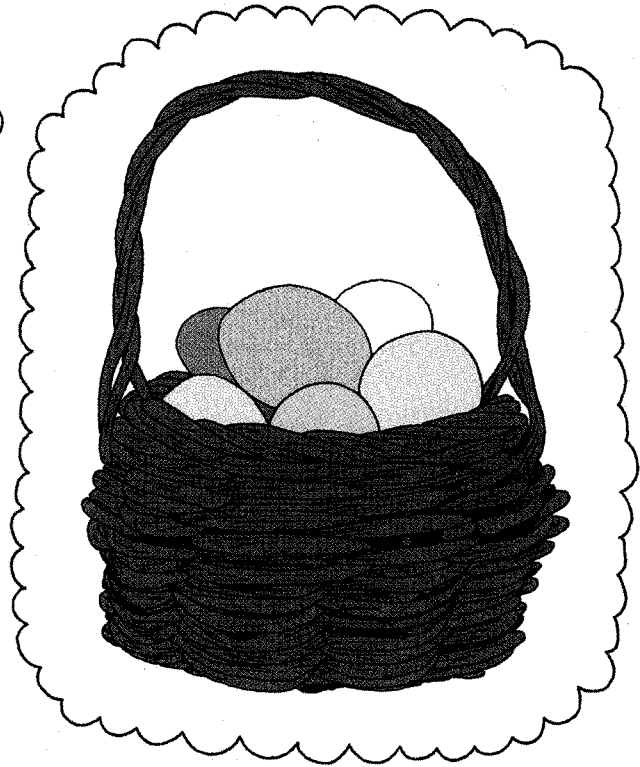
Is it only grass that
makes a city green?

With sustainable infrastructure solutions, Siemens helps big cities become even greener.

Ask any big city resident how to improve everyday life and you'll hear plenty of ideas: cleaner air, purer water, better public transport, crime-free streets, reliable power supply, affordable and efficient healthcare. Our answer: an extensive range of innovative products and solutions that help to make city life a greener, healthier and more enjoyable experience.

siemens.com/answers

SIEMENS



Why Goldman Always Wins

What do investment bankers, wedding planners, funeral directors, and movie-trailer voice-over artists have in common? High fees for high-stakes, once-in-a-lifetime deals.

By Megan McArdle

IN THE SUMMER of 2000, David Poor, a direct descendant of a founder of Standard & Poor's, flew me to his family's Nantucket home on a private jet.

I am sure he will not remember having done so. At the time, he was the head of Merrill Lynch's technology investment-banking group, and I was a summer associate serving out my internship in his department. The only time I got more than a glimpse of him was during that Nantucket weekend, when we larval M.B.A.s tried to impress the boss with the panache with which

we donned ugly chintz sundresses or crisp new Nantucket Reds. Bunked at his mother's "cottage" with the few other women in the group, I spent the weekend gingerly sipping gin-and-tonics and trying to fade into the couch.

Weeks after this WASPish ordeal, I remained puzzled by it. Why were David Poor, and presumably Merrill Lynch, spending so much money on us? We were all fine Americans, I am sure, and attended top business schools. But that summer, and every summer, tens of thousands of young M.B.A.s would have slaved away happily in Merrill Lynch's

beige corridors without being wined and dined. If Merrill had lost a few of us to JP Morgan or Goldman Sachs, we could have been effortlessly replaced. Yet the company was not only treating us to trips and fancy dinners, but also paying us \$25,000 for 10 weeks of work.

I use the word *work* somewhat loosely. My summer-associate class had been flown in for orientation the previous spring, only to spend the day in the lobby of the training room, watching the NASDAQ plunge 300 points. By the time we reported for duty in mid-June, the tech-heavy index had lost about

PETER ARKLE

1,300 points from its March peak of 5,132. Before the crash, eager recruiters had told us that Merrill Lynch's bankers would be okay no matter what; in the bull market, they had done initial public offerings, or IPOs, and in a bear market, they would do mergers and acquisitions and stock repurchases instead. This prognosis turned out to be as delusional as the Pets.com prospectus. The office was a well-upholstered tomb. We spent most of our days—and nights—performing a kind of kabuki, pretending to do work for bosses who must have known that they had no work for us to do. Yet still the dinners, the trips, and the lavish paychecks continued.

Why? The question was resolved for me during an August cocktail hour at P. J. Clarke's, the financial district's version of a meat market. There another associate pointed out, a trifle owlshly, the explanation: "Seven percent."

That was where a new analysis had pegged the average "gross spread," or fees, on an IPO, which was the only kind of live deal I had worked that summer. To be sure, Merrill Lynch was splitting those fees with other banks. But when offerings ran into the hundreds of millions of dollars, as they easily did, a few percent was a lot of money. Sure, a competent bookkeeper or legal secretary could have done most of our work. But in the banks' fees, our salaries were a rounding error.

Still, why not compete down our salaries, if they could? I'm sure that if David Poor and his fellow managers had hired M.B.A.s from Georgetown and Notre Dame instead of Harvard and Chicago, they could have found something to do with the money saved.

These days, that question seems more pertinent, and more mysterious, than ever. With laid-off bankers flooding the job market, you would think that salaries in finance at long last would come down. But even a coven of angry Congress members seems to have had only a limited effect on what the financial industry is willing to pay

its employees. Hearings and diatribes have succeeded merely in forcing firms to pay more compensation as salaries rather than as bonuses—as if the main issue with lavish paydays at bailed-out banks were the timing of the checks.

To understand why banker pay seems so persistently outlandish, consider another industry that skims off the top of a vast well of cash: the business of making movie trailers.

Unless you're deaf, or have been living in an ashram for the past four decades, you've heard the voice of Don LaFontaine, known in the trailer industry as "the voice of God." LaFontaine's gravelly baritone popularized the phrase *In a world where ...* and seduced us into movie after movie, from *Dr. Strangelove* to *The Simpsons Movie*. When he died last year, at the age of 68, one obituary reported that at his peak, LaFontaine was making \$30 million a year voicing trailers and commercials.

That's quite a wage, especially when you break it down to an hourly rate. Over a long career, LaFontaine voiced more than 5,000 trailers and hundreds of thousands of commercial spots. But top voice-over artists frequently work out of their homes and record the spots, which usually run about two minutes,

in no more than five takes. It's one thing to pay Tom Cruise \$25 million per movie; he makes perhaps one movie a year, to which he brings his built-in fan base. But no guy asks a date if she'd like to go see the new Don LaFontaine trailer.

Nonetheless, trailers have grown into a nearly \$100 million industry, whose companies continue to give work to a coterie of well-paid veterans, rather than

bidding jobs out to the legions of starving actors haunting the streets of L.A. And if you look at the economics of the movie industry, this behavior starts to make sense.

Don LaFontaine's 40-year career began as the old Hollywood studio system breathed its last. The forces that killed the studio cartel also smashed

the monopoly of the National Screen Service, which had produced virtually every movie trailer for more than 40 years. In its wake, independent firms began competing for the lucrative business, gradually supplanting those stilted spots you see on Turner Classic Movies, where Bob Hope appears on the screen to tell you how great his next picture is.

Over the years, changes in the movie business conspired to make trailers and television ads more and more important. First TV, then VHS, and finally DVD reduced the number of times people went to see a movie in a theater. As a small child, I saw *Star Wars* something like 17 times on its first run. But I'm hard-pressed to name a single movie I've seen twice in theaters since graduating from college.

Star Wars grossed \$1.5 million the first weekend it opened, in late May of 1977, and peaked at \$7.7 million the first weekend of September. By early December, it was still earning more than a million a week. These days, it would already have been out on DVD by then.

Because of piracy and a highly competitive DVD market, films no longer have much time to build an audience. They need to roar out of the gate, rake in piles of money for a few weeks, and then retire to finish out the modern movie life cycle of international releases, cable premieres, and DVD box sets. So the ads and trailers need to drive novelty-hungry teenagers, the movie industry's ripest target audience, out to the theaters in droves. Heavy investment in top-notch promotion may be why people like me call trailers their favorite part of the movies. Even when studios don't make a profit at the domestic box office—as happens all too frequently—big box office helps to sell the movie in foreign markets.

When a studio spends tens of millions of dollars producing a film, and further tens of millions advertising it, cheaping out on a voice-over makes no sense. You could pay a Don LaFontaine successor \$300,000 a spot and still eat up just a tiny percentage of the film's overall budget. A bad voice-over would cost you far more than you could hope to save. When you have only one chance to get it right, you tend to open up your wallet and pray. So one-shot deals are

**If you're
undertaking
a one-shot deal,
you may want
to pay more to
hear the one
thing a hungry
upstart can't
tell you: that it's
handled deals
like yours before.**

SPECIAL PROMOTION



IDEAS SPOTLIGHT: INNOVATION IN EDUCATION

At Altria, we believe that strong educational systems empower students with a sense of pride, civic engagement and the passion to succeed. We're particularly passionate about programs that think beyond the classroom and recognize the important roles that parents, community organizations and policymakers play in preparing young people for success in life and work. That's why we'd like to highlight an innovator in helping community leaders think and act differently—the Ready by 21 Partnership.

The Partnership is implementing new ways to bring leaders together to link the many supports and services children experience throughout their days and years and ultimately surround kids with an environment that challenges and prepares them for the brightest of futures. Philip Morris USA, an Altria company, is proud to be a major sponsor of the Ready by 21 Partnership, and we are excited to have this approach taking hold in our home community of Richmond, Virginia. We encourage leaders from across the country to join in support of the Partnership and this important work.



Altria

Philip Morris USA ■ U.S. Smokeless Tobacco Company ■ John Middleton
Ste. Michelle Wine Estates ■ Philip Morris Capital Corporation

To learn more, visit:

www.altria.com/beyondtheclassroom

POWERFUL SOLUTIONS FOR PASSIONATE LEADERS

Rebuilding our economy has to include a commitment to prepare our youth for college, work and life. American students are not achieving their full potential. One-third of the students who enter ninth grade do not graduate from high school on time. Four out of ten of the students who do graduate are not ready for work. Only four in ten young adults are doing well—productive, healthy and connected.

The solutions are within our grasp. We know what students need to succeed. By making simple investments, we can dramatically improve the odds for children and youth. Countless education, community, business and government leaders share a common passion to help but need more effective ways to join their efforts. Ready by 21® challenges leaders to turn their passion into practice.

The challenge is not that leaders don't care or don't know about the problem. It is that they don't know how to harness their current efforts to forge a common solution. The Forum for Youth Investment, the creators of the successful Ready by 21 approach, is partnering with seven prominent national organizations whose members touch the lives of more than 100 million children and youth—organizations such as the United Way of America, Corporate Voices for Working Families and the National Conference of State Legislatures.

Together, these Partners are providing the tools and incentives their members need to change the way they do business on the ground. This approach is catching on. Dozens of communities and states across the nation are taking on Ready by 21's bold challenge, increasing the quality and reach of learning opportunities in school and out. United in their common mission, these communities are applying the Ready by 21 action-oriented approach so that many more young people are ready for college, work and life.



"The Ready by 21 framework is exactly right. It's not just about education. It's about families. It's about community. It's about working together to make sure that young people succeed."

**Brian Gallagher, President and
CEO, United Way of America**

**Learn how you can help ensure our
children and youth are Ready by 21
at www.readyby21.org**

Ready by 21 is a registered trademark of the Forum for Youth Investment.



very, very expensive—a logic that prevails with weddings, funerals, and college diplomas.

That same logic explains why clients have been willing to pay investment banks lavish fees to do IPOs—and secondary offerings, and bond underwriting, and M&A, and advisory work. The mystery of investment-banking fees is often framed as a matter of banks rooking naive managers, or managers selling out their shareholders in return for a space on Merrill Lynch's private jet. But the venture capitalists behind many of the IPOs aren't neophytes at the mercy of big-city bankers; both they and the firm's managers depend on a strong IPO, and a liquid aftermarket, to allow them to get some of their money back out of the company. If they're tolerating such large fees, there must be a reason.

When the boutique firm WR Hambrecht + Co persuaded Google to use an auction process for its 2004 IPO, there was a lot of talk about the end of traditional investment banking. Five years later, however, firms like Goldman Sachs are as dominant as ever, and auctions are rare. Google could rely on its own brand to sell the stock and create a deep secondary market in which its employees could exercise their stock options. But most companies need a little more help. Although Goldman Sachs may not be a bargain, if you're undertaking a one-shot deal, you may want to pay more to hear the one thing a hungry upstart can't tell you: that the company knows how to handle an offering of size and complexity, because it's done so a bunch of times before.

Of course, underwriting IPOs isn't the only place where financial firms, or financial workers, make their money. But the logic of the one-shot deal applies to the payment of traders and many others. A moment of reckoning will come when the deal either goes well, or does not; that moment is very hard to anticipate; and if things go wrong, they can be very hard to fix. In those cases, even weak signals of ability—like, say, an M.B.A. from a top school—command huge premiums.

I didn't get a permanent offer from Merrill Lynch at the end of the summer; both the firm and I recognized early on that I had no inner investment banker struggling to get out. (Even in one-shot

deals, a weak signal gets you only so far.) Most of my classmates who did, toiled for a year or two and then were laid off, or they left for a job that would allow them to occasionally see the sun.

But the ones who stayed in the financial industry have earned ever-huger sums, helping to fuel another congressional obsession: America's rising income inequality. A growing body of evidence suggests that our grossly inflated financial sector accounts for a substantial portion of the widening gap between rich and poor over the past two decades. Even for someone as basically libertarian as I am, that's troubling. Financial markets are an extremely valuable contributor to the economy. But they are not so valuable that they should have soaked up most of the income growth of the past few decades.

As this article went to press, Goldman Sachs had just announced record profits, and rumors abounded of another banner year for banker pay. How much longer can this go on? Every time another banker bonus is announced, Congress screams, and its staffers look for some quasi-legal way of capping financial salaries. But a recent paper by the economists Thomas Phillippon and Ariell Reshef suggests that when deregulation allows for a complex financial sector, particularly in the arenas of IPOs and credit risk, the wages of financial workers will remain severely inflated relative to workers in the rest of the economy.

Is it worth tamping down complexity and risk to limit banker pay? Right now, the answer seems obvious. But the tech and credit bubbles created as well as destroyed: assuming that we manage to skirt an outright depression, we won't necessarily be better off in five or 10 years if we try to chase all the excess returns out of the financial sector.

Unfortunately, regulation itself is a one-shot deal—we won't know until long afterward whether we've done it right. Maybe Uncle Sam should spend less time worrying about banker pay, and more time wooing prospective regulators with fancy trips on private jets. **■**

Megan McArdle is The Atlantic's business and economics editor, and the editor of the business channel at theatlantic.com.

ESCAPE PACKAGES FROM \$79 PER NIGHT

ENTERTAINMENT CREDITS
PREFERRED SHOW SEATING
FINE DINING CREDITS
GRAND SPA DISCOUNTS

mgmgrand.com/escape



maximumVegas. MGM GRAND

CHECK OUT WHAT'S
EXCITING AT MGM GRAND

KÀ BY CIRQUE DU SOLEIL

TOM COLICCHIO'S CRAFTSTEAK

MGM GRAND'S
CRAZY HORSE PARIS

WET REPUBLIC ULTRA POOL



Brit Wit

The comic invasion of Ricky Gervais and Russell Brand

By James Parker

IN BRITAIN, as every Anglophile knows, the slumbering and sheep-studded countryside awakens each morning to the sound of footmen being thrashed. The smiling veterinarian rides his unicycle over the hill, a buttered scone in each hand. The smell of coal fires still pervades the cities, where undersized people with overbites sit at their tower-block windows strumming songs by Syd Barrett. And at night, the baying of the soccer hooligans, who are all on Ecstasy.

But there is laughter, too, in this little nation: complicated laughter, recondite and full of nuance, and adored—strangely—by Americans. They call it “the Briddish sense of humor.”

Not all the jokes translate, of course. The Sex Pistols, comic geniuses to a

man, were poorly received on their one tour of the U.S., and the champagne wit of Prime Minister Gordon Brown went somehow unnoticed during his official visit earlier this year. Right now, though, over here, the British funnyman can do no wrong. Sacha Baron Cohen, with his *Borat* and his *Brüno*, has become a species of prancing cultural exorcist. Eddie Izzard—wobbling, quizzical—sold out in 34 cities last year. Craig Ferguson has a late-night talk show on CBS; my mother-in-law is devoted to him. Simon “Hot Fuzz” Pegg popped up as Scotty in *Star Trek*. And then we have Ricky Gervais and Russell Brand.

They’re not partners, I hasten to add—not a double act. Nonetheless, there is something dyadic about these two. Gervais is 47, dumpy and comfortable-looking. He’s a strict materialist:

one of his stand-up routines involves reading aloud from the book of Genesis, while the audience falls about laughing. His characteristic expression is a slightly canine leer. Brand is 34, lanky, dark-complexioned, black-clad, immoderately sensual, lightly bearded, and announced in silhouette by an outrageous nimbus of back-combed hair: in full panoply, with his boots and bullet belt and chains and eyeliner, he looks like Chewbacca’s girlfriend. He describes himself as “a spiritual gent” and closes his stand-up act with a pious “Hare Krishna.”

We’re currently hearing a lot from both men. Brand has upcoming roles in *The Tempest* and the Judd Apatow production *Get Him to the Greek*, and last month, for the second year in a row, he hosted MTV’s Video Music Awards.

SEAN MCCABE

**YOU
JUST
CAN'T
DOWNLOAD
THIS.**

Life is there
for the tasting.
Salute!
250 cities.
40 countries.



We know why you fly® **AmericanAirlines®**

AA.com

Service totals include American Eagle® AmericanAirlines. American Eagle, AA.com and We know why you fly are marks of American Airlines, Inc. oneworld is a mark of the oneworld Alliance, LLC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The fact that he made a bit of a dog's breakfast of it the first time (he disrespected the Jonas Brothers, among other sins) only added to the buzz.

Gervais, meanwhile, after getting so-so numbers with last year's *Ghost Town*, is once again attempting to prove himself a bankable leading man. In *The Invention of Lying*, which he co-wrote and co-directed, he plays Mark Bellison, a sad sack "in a world where everyone can only tell the TRUTH," who suddenly becomes the first man to wield the diabolic power of a lie—or as the Brits call it, a "porky pie." Will the movie be a hit? Who cares? If Gervais entered a Carthusian monastery tomorrow (unlikely, given that he's an honorary associate of the U.K.'s National Secular Society), his comedic legacy would be secure. Think of an office, any office, all offices: summon their atmosphere, that permanent hypoglycemic midafternoon. And at the center of that atmosphere, enthroned on a swivel chair, you'll find regional manager David Brent.

True, America knows him as Michael Scott. In France they call him Gilles Triquet; in Chile, Manuel Cerda. But it's Brent, the character created and played by Gervais for the original, U.K. version of the globally franchised series *The Office*, whose personality nailed the essence of white-collar purgatorio. His pale hands, fussing and fluttering at his shirtfront and tie with Oliver Hardy-like delicacy; his hair, endlessly smoothed, with its faint suggestion of '80s pop quiff; his eyes, skidding constantly and uneasily to the camera. And the things that came out of his mouth! "Head office are talking of downsizing, but they've said clearly that the most efficient branch will incorporate the other one. We are the most efficient branch—*cogito ergo sum*, we'll be fine."

Elements of *Spinal Tap* were present, and of *The Larry Sanders Show*, but *The Office* was the first post-reality-TV comedy, the first to turn a sitcom audience into a reality audience—which is to say, a Greek chorus stuck on mute. No laugh track, no music. A lot of dead space and zoomings-in on evacuated faces. A lot of hate in the air. Brent spoke in sententiae or outright nonsense—"The point is, you talk the talk but you do not walk the walk, vis-à-vis, you have not yet passed your forklift-driver's test!"

He denounces sexism, racism, whatever else he's just been trained on, but the carpets were crawling with detestation: "Naming no names, I don't know any, but women ... are ... *dirty*."

Because Gervais is a wonderful actor, with great volumes of emotion in the pouches and cladding of his face, we somehow credited David Brent with having the germ of a soul—or at least a heart. Gervais performed a similar magic with the character of Bertram Pincus, D.D.S., the misanthropic asshole dentist he played in *Ghost Town*. Here was an interesting movie: the mixture of Hollywood phantom-romance and Gervaisian disaffection made for an affecting brew precisely because it refused to jell.

Grumpy, lonely Pincus, having briefly experienced clinical death during a colonoscopy, now sees ghosts. He sees the restless departed, each of whom needs him to discharge some final obligation among the living—to find a bereaved child's teddy bear, or to convince a crane operator that the accident that killed his friends wasn't his fault. Pincus won't do it, because he's a selfish bugger, until Love (in the person of Téa Leoni) teaches him a lesson. He woos her with lines of pure Gervais: "I like Sting," he tells her over drinks, "because you can hear he is educated in his lyrics." She stirs the ashes of his empathy; he heeds the unresolved spirits around him, and gently does their bidding. And so, in brief blazes of light—a street lamp gone supernova or the glare of a welder's torch—it happens: the dead are relieved of their burdens of conscience, the living absolved of their pain. It's quite beautiful. I've watched this film twice, and both times I wept.

Russell Brand, by contrast, doesn't have a body of work behind him so much as a portfolio of false starts: fired from here, fired from there, until the world, that jade, yielded at last to his importunings and he became very famous—almost omnipresent, in his homeland. As a celebrity, he is frequently "disgraced"; as an aspiring talent, he was just messed up. There was his show

Re:Brand, for example, a kind of *Jackass* of the heart, seven desperate episodes of which ran in 2002 on a now-defunct U.K. digital channel. Episode One: "Dadfight." Brand faces his own father in the boxing ring. "Why do you think I wanna do this?" spits Brand Jr. at an unmoved Brand Sr. "Shall I tell you what it's about? I hate myself, Dad. I *hate* myself. I hate being alive. And one day, mate? You'll get a phone call. 'Russell's killed himself.'" Episode Seven: "Wanky Wanky." Determined to interrogate his own sexuality—is his straightness "innate," or is it "conditioned"?—Brand noisily invades one of London's

gay pubs, where in the toilet his researches are furthered by an obliging man called Gary. ("I'm a Buddhist," says Gary. "I help where I can.") Charity was a pronounced element in the show—the spectacle of this strange young soul, in despair or recklessness, chaotically seeking occasions for compassion: taking a bath with a homeless

man ("Who gets trench foot in the year 2002?!"), or romancing an elderly lady. We learn from his memoir, *My Booky Wook*, a best seller in the U.K., that Brand was mostly lost in a psychotropic fog during these escapades.

Cleaned up and hitting his stride, Brand did loads more TV and some very naughty radio (one of his prank calls, to the aging and much-loved actor Andrew Sachs, triggered the kind of tabloid apoplexy that only the British press can pull off—the controller of BBC Radio 2 was forced to resign), and somewhere in there got his big movie break with the Apatow-produced *Forgetting Sarah Marshall*. Sliding without apparent effort into the baggy matrix of Apatow-ness, where every character—however half-assedly written—is allowed his or her lopsided human value, Brand played a sharp-tongued, oversexed cheeky-monkey rock star with the accent of a Blakean chimney sweep. Himself, in other words.

Or himself in one aspect, because his stand-up persona is another thing again. With a mic in his hand, Brand is more

Brand and Gervais, fellow countrymen, come to these shores in the embassy of two very different types of Englishness.

literate and pantomime-dame-ish: the swagger is still there, but ventilated by blasts of estrogen and purple prose. In one routine, describing his "ludicrously alpha" surfing instructor for the *Forgetting Sarah Marshall* shoot, he exclaims, "The sea were incarnadine wiv his testosterone!" Eye whites flash, hyperboles pop, the mic cord is whipped around cowgirl-style.

And Brand can write. *My Booky Wook* is a sweet read, despite the author's occasional urchin refusal to conjugate a verb correctly: "In our household, mundanity were regularly achieved, banality flourished unchecked, but normalcy were seldom seen."

Brand and Gervais, fellow countrymen, come to these shores in the embassy of two very different types of Englishness. Gervais projects a bloke-ish fatality, a sense of cosmic curtailment that has traditionally been recognized by Americans as the English comic condition and the source of Briddish humor. Hilarity in a cramped space, which fame cannot enlarge. David Bowie, playing himself, appeared on Gervais's post-*Office* series, *Extras*, singing a song right into Gervais's face: "Little fat man who sold his soul ... Chubby little loser ... He's so depressed at being hated / Fatso takes his own life!" But then there's Brand, babbling about his film shoots, keeping the papers busy. Channeling Morrissey, Ziggy Stardust, Edith Sitwell, the shrieking queens of the music-hall era, and—more distantly—Percy Bysshe Shelley, he is currently the leading exporter of English exoticism: a crash course, indeed, in Albion's buried glamour.

It remains to be seen just how ready American comedy fans are for all this. "Someone may say to you, 'Oh, you went and saw Russell Brand? How was that gig?'" Brand recently told a New York audience. "And you may respond, 'Russell Brand? More than a comic, he's a prophet, a poet, a genius, the leader of the revolution!' I don't wanna put words in your mouth. Not when God gave me [pointing at his groin] THIS!"

Two comedians, two libidos, two Englands. And if America can accept them both—well, she's an even more generous hostess than I took her for. ■

James Parker is an Atlantic contributing editor.

New from The Library of America

The definitive edition of Raymond Carver's legendary and controversial stories, including never before seen versions

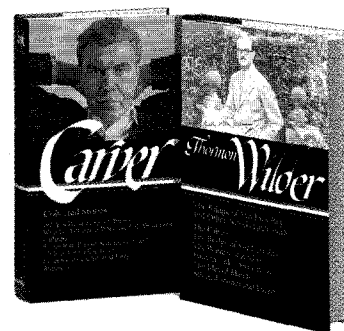
RAYMOND CARVER: Collected Stories

William L. Stull & Maureen P. Carroll, editors

Gathering for the first time all of Carver's stories, including several posthumous works, this volume provides the first comprehensive overview of Carver's career. It also prompts fresh consideration by publishing for the first time *Beginners*, the original manuscript of *What We Talk About When We Talk About Love* that Carver submitted to Gordon Lish, his editor and a crucial influence on his development.

"*Collected Stories* is a fascinating event, and . . . if you haven't read it you cannot claim, in the fullest sense, to have read Raymond Carver." —*TLS*

1040 pages • \$40



Wilder's dazzling early fiction, in one volume for the first time

THORNTON WILDER

The Bridge of San Luis Rey and Other Novels 1926-1948

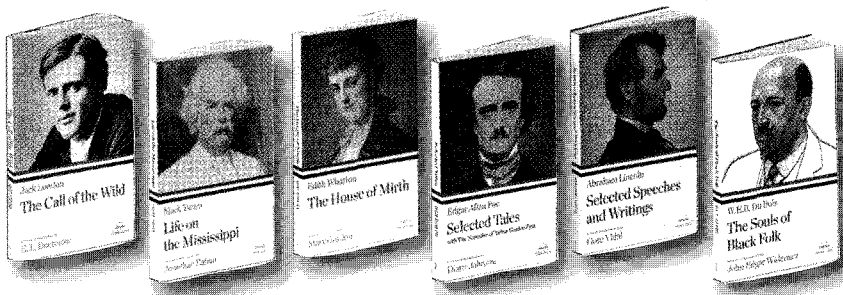
J. D. McClatchy, editor

This Library of America edition of Wilder's early fiction brings together five novels and nine stories—in authoritative texts reflecting new research into Wilder's manuscripts and early editions—that display the literary verve that won him worldwide acclaim.

"It is quite extraordinary that the first books of so young a man should display such unmistakable originality of style, of form and of point of view." —Edmund Wilson, *The New Republic*, August 8, 1928

744 pages • \$35

Announcing a new series — Library of America Paperback Classics



Jack London
The Call of the Wild
Introduced by
E. L. Doctorow

120 pp. • \$7.95

Mark Twain
Life on the Mississippi
Introduced by
Jonathan Raban

432 pp. • \$9.95

Edith Wharton
The House of Mirth
Introduced by
Mary Gordon

390 pp. • \$10.95

Edgar Allan Poe
Selected Tales
with The Narrative of
Arthur Gordon Pym
Introduced by
Diane Johnson

460 pp. • \$14.95

Abraham Lincoln
Selected Speeches and Writings
Introduced by
Gore Vidal

550 pp. • \$16.95

W.E.B. Du Bois
The Souls of Black Folk
Introduced by
John Edgar Wideman

256 pp. • \$10.95

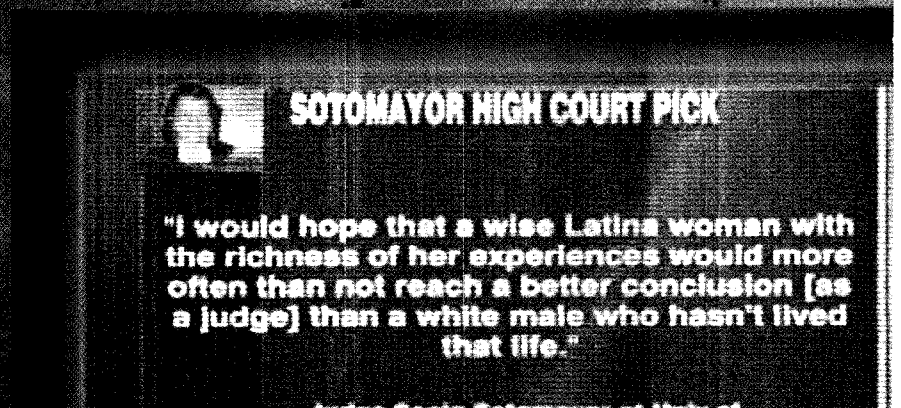
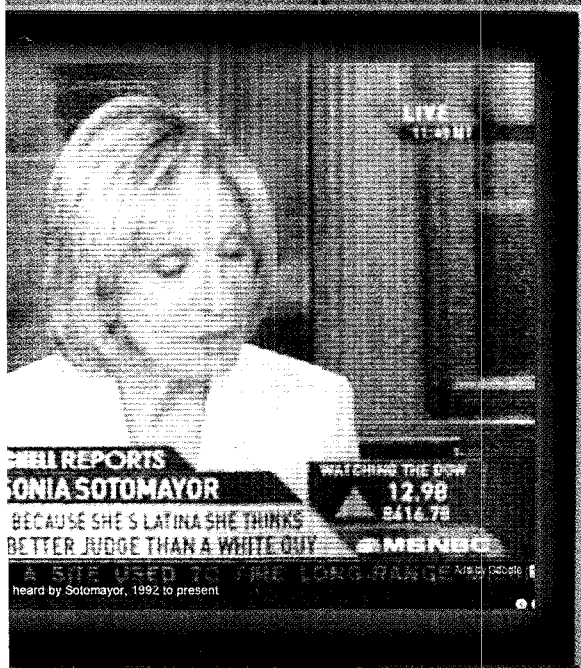
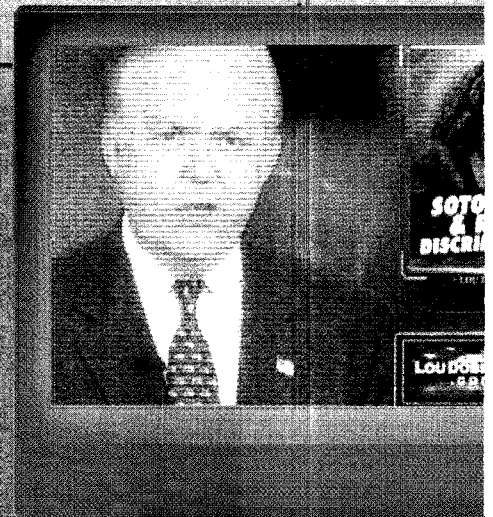


THE LIBRARY of AMERICA www.loa.org
Classic Writers. Classic Books.

Distributed by Penguin Group (USA), Inc.

WITH JOURNALISTS BEING LAID OFF IN DROVES,
IDEOLOGUES HAVE STEPPED FORWARD
TO PROVIDE THE "REPORTING" THAT FEEDS
THE 24-HOUR NEWS CYCLE. THE COLLAPSE
OF JOURNALISM MEANS THAT THE QUEST
FOR INFORMATION HAS BEEN SUPERSEDED
BY THE QUEST FOR AMMUNITION.

A CASE STUDY OF OUR POST-JOURNALISTIC AGE.



THE STORY



SHE'S A RACIST, A BIGOT
Conservatives take shots at Sonia Sotomayor

RACE AND THE COURT

We are supposed
to be a society
wherein equal
justice for all
prevails.

BEHIND THE ST

By L

g Points Commentary

bench by a Republican president and now tapped for the Supreme Court by a Democratic one, unmasked as a Race Woman with an agenda. In one clip she announced herself as someone who believed her identity as a “Latina woman” (a redundancy, but that’s what she said) made her judgment superior to that of a “white male,” and in the other she all but unmasked herself as a card-carrying member of the Left Wing Conspiracy to use America’s courts not just to apply and interpret the law but, in her own words, to *make policy*, to perform an end run around the other two branches of government and impose liberal social policies by fiat on an unsuspecting American public.

In the Duke clip, she not only stated that appellate judges make policy, she did so in a disdainful mock disavowal before a chuckling audience of apparently like-minded conspirators. “I know this is on tape and I should never say that, because we don’t make law, I know,” she said before being interrupted by laughter. “Okay, I know. I’m not promoting it, I’m not advocating it, I’m ... you know,” flipping her hands dismissively. More laughter.

Holy cow! I’m an old reporter, and I know legwork when I see it. Those crack journalists at Fox, better known for coloring and commenting endlessly on the news than for actually breaking it, had unearthed not one but two explosive gems, and had been primed to expose Sotomayor’s darker purpose *within minutes of her nomination!* Leaving aside for the moment any question about the context of these seemingly damaging remarks—none was offered—I was impressed. In my newspaper years, I prepared my share of advance profiles of public figures, and I know the scut work that goes into sifting through a decades-long career. In the old days it meant digging through packets of yellowed clippings in the morgue, interviewing widely, searching for those moments of controversy or surprise that revealed something interesting about the subject. How many rulings, opinions, articles, legal arguments, panel discussions, and speeches had there been in the judge’s long years of service? What bloodhound producer at Fox News had waded into this haystack to find these two choice needles?

Then I flipped to MSNBC, and lo! ... they had the exact same two clips. I flipped to CNN ... same clips. CBS ... same clips. ABC ... same clips. Parsing Sotomayor’s 30 years of public legal work, somehow every TV network had come up with precisely the same moments! None bothered to say who had dug them up; none offered a smidgen of context. They all just accepted the apparent import of the clips, the substance of which was sure to trouble any fair-minded viewer. By the end of the day just about every American with a TV set had heard the “make policy” and “Latina woman” comments. By the end of the nightly news summaries, millions who had never heard of Sonia Sotomayor knew her not only as Obama’s pick, but as a judge who felt superior by reason of her gender and ethnicity, and as a liberal activist determined to “make policy” from the federal bench. And wasn’t it an extraordinary coincidence that all these great news organizations, functioning independently—because this, after all, is the advantage of having multiple news-gathering sources in a democracy—had come up with exactly the same material in advance?

THEY HADN’T, OF COURSE. The reporting we saw on TV and on the Internet that day was the work not of journalists, but of political hit men. The snippets about Sotomayor had been circulating on conservative Web sites and shown on some TV channels for weeks. They were new only to the vast majority of us who have better things to do than vet the record of every person on Obama’s list. But this is precisely what activists and bloggers on both sides of the political spectrum do, and what a conservative organization like the Judicial Confirmation Network exists to promote. The JCN had gathered an attack dossier on each of the prospective Supreme Court nominees, and had fed them all to the networks in advance.

This process—political activists supplying material for TV news broadcasts—is not new, of course. It has largely replaced the work of on-the-scene reporters during political campaigns, which have become, in a sense, perpetual. The once-quadrennial clashes between parties over the White House are now simply the way our national business is conducted. In our exhausting 24/7 news cycle, demand for timely information and analysis is greater than ever. With journalists being laid off in droves, savvy political operatives have stepped eagerly into the breach. What’s most troubling is not that TV-news producers mistake their work for journalism, which is bad enough, but that young people drawn to journalism increasingly see no distinction between disinterested reporting and hit-jobbery. The very smart and capable young men (more on them in a moment) who actually dug up and initially posted the Sotomayor clips both originally described themselves to me as part-time, or aspiring, journalists.

The attack that political operatives fashioned from their work was neither unusual nor particularly effective. It succeeded in shaping the national debate over her nomination for weeks, but more serious assessments of her record would demolish the caricature soon enough, and besides, the Democrats have a large majority in the Senate; her nomination was approved by a vote of 68–31. The incident does, however, illustrate one consequence of the collapse of professional journalism. Work formerly done by reporters and producers is now routinely performed by political operatives and amateur ideologues of one stripe or another, whose goal is not to educate the public but to *win*. This is a trend not likely to change.

Writing in 1960, the great press critic A. J. Liebling, noting the squeeze on his profession, fretted about the emergence of the one-newspaper town:

The worst of it is that each newspaper disappearing below the horizon carries with it, if not a point of view, at least a potential emplacement for one. A city with one newspaper, or with a morning and an evening paper under one ownership, is like a man with one eye, and often the eye is glass.

Liebling, who died in 1963, was spared the looming prospect of the no-newspaper town. There is, of course, the Internet, which he could not have imagined. Its enthusiasts rightly point out that digital media are in nearly every way superior to paper and ink, and represent, in essence, an upgrade in technology. But those giant presses and barrels

of ink and fleets of delivery trucks were never what made newspapers invaluable. What gave newspapers their value was the mission and promise of journalism—the hope that someone was getting paid to wade into the daily tide of manure, sort through its deliberate lies and cunning half-truths, and tell a story straight. There is a reason why newspaper reporters, despite polls that show consistently low public regard for journalists, are the heroes of so many films. The reporter of lore was not some blue blood or Ivy League egg-head, beholden to society's powerful interests, be they corporate, financial, or political. We liked our newsmen to be Everymen—shoe-leather intellectuals, cynical, suspicious, and streetwise like Humphrey Bogart in *Deadline—U.S.A.* or Jimmy Stewart in *The Philadelphia Story* or Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman in *All the President's Men*. The Internet is now replacing Everyman with *every man*. Anyone with a keyboard or cell phone can report, analyze, and pull a chair up to the national debate. If freedom of the press belongs to those who own one, today that is everyone. The city with one eye (glass or no) has been replaced by the city with a million eyes. This is wonderful on many levels, and is why the tyrants of the world are struggling, with only partial success, to control the new medium. But while the Internet may be the ultimate democratic tool, it is also demolishing the business model that long sustained newspapers and TV's network-news organizations. Unless someone quickly finds a way to make disinterested reporting pay, to compensate the modern equivalent of the ink-stained wretch (the carpal-tunnel curmudgeon?), the Web may yet bury Liebling's cherished profession.

Who, after all, is willing to work for free?

MORGEN RICHMOND, FOR ONE—the man who actually found the snippets used to attack Sotomayor. He is a partner in a computer-consulting business in Orange County, California, a father of two, and a native of Canada, who defines himself, in part, as a political conservative. He spends some of his time most nights in a second-floor bedroom/office in his home, after his children and wife have gone to bed, cruising the Internet looking for ideas and information for his blogging. "It's more of a hobby than anything else," he says. His primary outlet is a Web site called VerumSerum.com, which was co-founded by his friend John Sexton. Sexton is a Christian conservative who was working at the time for an organization called Reasons to Believe, which strives, in part, to reconcile scientific discovery and theory with the apparent whoppers told in the Bible. Sexton is, like Richmond, a young father, living in Huntington Beach. He is working toward a master's degree at Biola University (formerly the Bible Institute of Los Angeles), and is a man of opinion. He says that even as a youth, long before the Internet, he would corner his friends and make them listen to his most recent essay. For both Sexton and Richmond, Verum Serum is a labor of love, a chance for them to flex their desire to report and comment, to add their two cents to the national debate. Both see themselves as somewhat unheralded conservative thinkers in a

world captive to misguided liberalism and prey to an overwhelmingly leftist mainstream media, or MSM, composed of journalists who, like myself, write for print publications or work for big broadcast networks and are actually paid for their work.

Richmond started researching Sotomayor after ABC News Washington correspondent George Stephanopoulos named her as the likely pick back on March 13. The work involved was far less than I'd imagined, in part because the Internet is such an amazing research tool, but mostly because Richmond's goal was substantially easier to achieve than a journalist's. For a newspaper reporter, the goal in researching any profile is to arrive at a deeper understanding of the subject. My own motivation, when I did it, was to present not just a smart and original picture of the person, but a fair

picture. In the quaint protocols of my ancient newsroom career, the editors I worked for would have accepted nothing less; if they felt a story needed more detail or balance, they'd brusquely hand it back and demand more effort. Richmond's purpose was fundamentally different. He figured, rightly, that anyone Obama picked who had not publicly burned an American flag would likely be confirmed, and that she would be cheered all the way down this lubricated chute by the Obama-loving MSM. To his credit, Richmond is not what we in the old days called a

"thumbsucker," a lazy columnist who rarely stirs from behind his desk, who for material just reacts to the items that cross it. (This defines the vast majority of bloggers.) Richmond is actually determined to add something new to the debate.

"The goal is to develop original stories that attract attention," he told me. "I was consciously looking for something that would resonate."

But not just anything resonant. Richmond's overarching purpose was to damage Sotomayor, or at least to raise questions about her that would trouble his readers, who are mostly other conservative bloggers. On most days, he says, his stuff on Verum Serum is read by only 20 to 30 people. If any of them like what they see, they link to it or post the video on their own, larger Web sites.

Richmond began his reporting by looking at university Web sites. He had learned that many harbor little-seen recordings and transcripts of speeches made by public figures, since schools regularly sponsor lectures and panel discussions with prominent citizens, such as federal judges. Many of the events are informal and unscripted, and can afford glimpses of public figures talking unguardedly about their ideas, their life, and their convictions. Many are recorded and archived. Using Google, Richmond quickly found a list of such appearances by Sotomayor, and the first one he clicked on was the video of the 2005 panel discussion at Duke University Law School. Sotomayor and two other judges, along with two Duke faculty members, sat behind a table before a classroom filled with students interested in applying for judicial clerkships. The video is 51 minutes long and is far from riveting. About 40 minutes into it, Richmond says, he

**YOUNG PEOPLE
DRAWN TO
JOURNALISM
INCREASINGLY SEE
NO DISTINCTION
BETWEEN
DISINTERESTED
REPORTING AND
HIT-JOBBERY.**

was only half listening, multitasking on his home computer, when laughter from the sound track caught his ear. He rolled back the video and heard Sotomayor utter the line about making policy, and then jokingly disavow the expression.

"What I found most offensive about it was the laughter," he says. "What was the joke? ... Here was a sitting appellate judge in a room full of law students, treating the idea that she was making policy or law from the bench as laughable." He recognized it as a telling in-joke that his readers would not find funny.

Richmond posted the video snippet on YouTube on May 2, and then put it up with a short commentary on Verum Serum the following day, questioning whether Sotomayor deserved to be considered moderate or bipartisan, as she had been characterized. "I'm not so sure this is going to fly," he wrote, and then invited readers to view the video. He concluded with sarcasm: "So she's a judicial activist ... I'm sure she is a

moderate one though! Unbelievable. With a comment like this I only hope that conservatives have the last laugh if she gets the nomination."

A NUMBER OF LARGER conservative Web sites, notably Volokh.com (the Volokh Conspiracy, published by UCLA law professor Eugene Volokh) and HotAir.com (published by conservative commentator Michelle Malkin), picked up the video, and on May 4 it was aired on television for the first time, by Sean Hannity.

On Malkin's Web site, Richmond had come across a short, critical reference to a speech Sotomayor had given at Berkeley Law School, in which, according to Malkin, the prospective Supreme Court nominee said "she believes it is appropriate for a judge to consider their 'experiences as women and people of color' in their decision making, which she believes should 'affect our decisions.'"

Malkin told me that her "conservative source" for the tidbit was privileged. She used the item without checking out the actual speech, which is what Richmond set out to find. He had some trouble because Malkin had placed the speech in 2002 instead of 2001, but he found it—the Honorable Mario G. Olmos Law & Cultural Diversity Memorial Lecture—in the Berkeley Law School's *La Raza Law Journal*, bought it, and on May 5 posted the first detailed account of it on his blog. He ran large excerpts from it, and highlighted in bold the now infamous lines: "I would hope that a wise Latina woman with the richness of her experiences would more often than not reach a better conclusion than a white male who hasn't lived that life."

Richmond then commented:

To be fair, I do want to note that the statement she made ... is outrageous enough that it may have in fact been a joke. Although since it's published "as-is" in a law journal I'm not sure she is entitled to the benefit of the doubt on this. The text certainly does not indicate that it was said in jest. I have only a lay-person's understanding of law and judicial history, but I suspect the judicial philosophy implied by these statements is probably pretty typical amongst liberal judges. Personally, I wish it seemed that she was actually really trying to meet the judicial ideal of impartiality, and her comments about making a difference are a concern as this does not seem to be an appropriate focus for a member of the judiciary. I look forward to hopefully seeing some additional dissection and analysis of these statements by others in the conservative legal community.

The crucial piece of Richmond's post, Sotomayor's "wise Latina woman" comment, was then picked up again by other sites, and was soon being packaged with the Duke video as Exhibits A and B in the case against Sonia Sotomayor. Richmond told me that he was shocked by the immediate, widespread attention given to his work, and a little startled by the levels of outrage it provoked. "I found her comments more annoying than outrageous, to be honest," he said.

IN BOTH INSTANCES, Richmond's political bias made him tone-deaf to the context and import of Sotomayor's remarks. Bear in mind that he was looking not simply to understand the judge, but to expose her supposed hidden agenda.

OUT OF THE WOODS

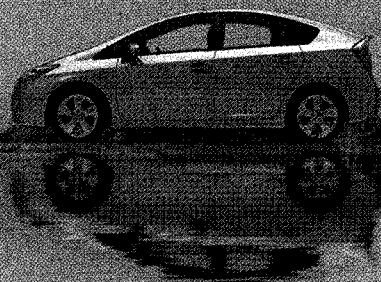
What is it about the forest?
Why can't we give it a rest?
All those writers taking
soulful walks in the woods:
good heavens, it's been done.
Step out and get some sun!
Dante did, after getting the goods
in the darkest glades from Virgil;
but what about Longfellow
sadly tagging along—
or ten steps back, at the distance
of a translated insistence?
Sure, I admire the flight paths
of the hawk moths of Nabokov,
who pinned them down in a knockoff
of the hawthorn path in Proust—
but if I must lose my way,
I'll take the route of song:
give me Sondheim any day.
I've had my fill of Frost,
proud again to be lost,
coming upon his fork
in the road for the millionth time,
or stumbling upon woodpiles
of somebody else's work.

—Mary Jo Salter

Mary Jo Salter's most recent collection is A Phone Call to the Future: New and Selected Poems (2008). She teaches at Johns Hopkins University.

TODAY
Thinking green

TOMORROW
Planning for blue



TOYOTA

toyota.com/future

Can today's environmental thinking inspire tomorrow's technology? Toyota believes so. Since its launch, the Prius has earned the love of millions of forward-thinking drivers. We estimate our hybrid technology has saved a billion gallons of gas and lowered CO₂ emissions by billions of pounds*. It's also paving the way for the next generation of environmental vehicles. Like cars charged at home. Or cars that will run solely on electricity, or consume hydrogen and emit only water. Because when it comes to thinking green, the sky's the limit.

*Estimated savings compares each U.S. hybrid vehicle's EPA combined mpg rating with its segment average based on latest EPA Trends Report (driven 15,000 miles annually). Actual mileage will vary. ©2009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Take the Duke panel first: most of the video, for obvious reasons, held little interest for Richmond. My guess is that you could fit the number of people who have actually watched the whole thing into a Motel Six bathtub. Most of the talk concerned how to make your application for a highly competitive clerkship stand out. Late in the discussion, a student asked the panel to compare clerking at the district-court (or trial-court) level and clerking at the appellate level. Sotomayor replied that clerks serving trial judges are often asked to rapidly research legal questions that develop during a trial, and to assist the judge in applying the law to the facts of that particular case. The appellate courts, on the other hand, are in the business of making rulings that are “precedential,” she said, in that rulings at the appellate level serve as examples, reasons, or justifications for future proceedings in lower courts. She went on to make the ostensibly controversial remark that students who planned careers in academia or public-interest law ought to seek a clerkship at the appellate level, because that’s where “policy is made.”

This is absolutely true, in the sense she intended: precedential decisions, by definition, make *judicial* policy. They provide the basic principles that guide future rulings. But both Sotomayor and her audience were acutely aware of how charged the word *policy* has become in matters concerning the judiciary—conservatives accuse liberal judges, not without truth, of trying to set *national* policy from the bench. This accusation has become a rallying cry for those who believe that the Supreme Court justices should adhere strictly to the actual language and original intent of the Constitution, instead of coloring the law with their own modish theories to produce such social experiments as school desegregation, *Miranda* warnings, abortions on demand, and so forth. The polite laughter that caught Richmond’s ear was recognition by the law students that the judge had inadvertently stepped in a verbal cow pie. She immediately recognized what she had done, expressed mock horror at being caught doing so on tape, and then pronounced a jocular and exaggerated mea culpa, like a scoring runner in a baseball game tiptoeing back out onto the diamond to touch a base that he might have missed. Sotomayor went on to explain in very precise terms how and why decisions at the appellate level have broader intellectual implications than those at the lower level. It is where, she said, “the law is percolating.”

Seen in their proper context, these comments would probably not strike anyone as noteworthy. If anything, they showed how sensitive Sotomayor and everyone else in the room had become to fears of an “activist court.”

A LOOK AT THE FULL “Latina woman” speech at Berkeley reveals another crucial misinterpretation.

To his credit, Richmond posted as much of the speech as copyright law allows, attempting to present the most important sentence in context. But he still missed the point. Sotomayor’s argument was not that she sought to use her

position to further minority interests, or that her gender and background made her superior to a white male. Her central argument was that the sexual, racial, and ethnic makeup of the legal profession has in fact historically informed the application of law, despite the efforts of individual lawyers and judges to rise above their personal stories—as Sotomayor noted she labors to do. Her comment about a “wise Latina woman” making a better judgment than a “white male who hasn’t lived that life” referred specifically to cases involving racial and sexual discrimination. “Whether born from experience or inherent physiological or cultural differences ...

our gender and national origins may and will make a difference in our judging,” she said. This is not a remarkable insight, nor is it even arguable. Consider, say, how an African-American Supreme Court justice might have viewed the *Dred Scott* case, or how a female judge—Sotomayor cited this in the speech—might have looked upon the argument, advanced to oppose women’s suffrage, that females are “not capable of reasoning or thinking logically.” The presence of blacks and women in the room inherently changes judicial deliberation. She said that although white male judges have been admirably able on occasion to rise above cultural

prejudices, the progress of racial minorities and women in the legal profession has directly coincided with greater judicial recognition of their rights. Once again, her point was not that this progress was the result of deliberate judicial activism, but that it was a natural consequence of fuller minority and female participation.

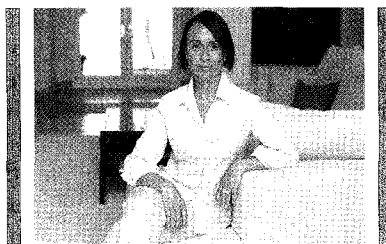
One of her central points was that all judges are, to an extent, defined by their identity and experience, whether they like it or not.

“I can and do aspire to be greater than the sum total of my experiences,” she said, “but I accept my limitations.”

Richmond seems a bright and fair-minded fellow, but he makes no bones about his political convictions or the purpose of his research and blogging. He has some of the skills and instincts of a reporter but not the motivation or ethics. Any news organization that simply trusted and aired his editing of Sotomayor’s remarks, as every one of them did, was abdicating its responsibility to do its own reporting. It was airing propaganda. There is nothing wrong with reporting propaganda, per se, so long as it is labeled as such. None of the TV reports I saw on May 26 cited VerumSerum.com as the source of the material, which disappointed but did not surprise Richmond and Sexton.

Both found the impact of their volunteer effort exciting. They experienced the heady feeling of every reporter who discovers that the number of people who actually seek out new information themselves, even people in the news profession, is vanishingly small. Show the world something it hasn’t seen, surprise it with something new, and you fundamentally alter its understanding of things. I have experienced this throughout my career, in ways large and small. I remember the first time I did, very early on, when I wrote a magazine profile of a promising Baltimore County politician

IN THE POST-JOURNALISTIC WORLD, THE MODEL FOR ALL NATIONAL DEBATE BECOMES THE TRIAL. THERE IS LITTLE ROOM FOR COMPROMISE, AND POLITICS BECOMES BLOOD SPORT.



SHE LEFT NO STONE UNTURNED WHEN BUILDING HER WEALTH.
WE'RE APPLYING THAT SAME APPROACH TO HELP PROTECT IT.



Nowadays, market conditions aren't the only things subject to change. Estate and gift tax laws are, as well.

Which is precisely why our specialists at U.S. Trust® are analyzing them on behalf of clients whose estates stand to be impacted. And why they're tailoring comprehensive strategies to help safeguard each client's wealth.

If you're looking for a unique perspective on likely tax law changes and how they could impact your assets, we invite you to read our latest thinking about wealth management.

It's called "Gifts with (Government) Strings Attached?"
And you can download it right now at ustrust.com/taxlaws

WEALTH MANAGEMENT
FOR TODAY'S WEALTH.®

U.S. TRUST 

Bank of America Private Wealth Management

U.S. Trust, Bank of America Private Wealth Management operates through Bank of America, N.A. and other subsidiaries of Bank of America Corporation. Bank of America, N.A., Member FDIC. © 2009 Bank of America Corporation. All rights reserved.

named Ted Venetoulis, who was preparing a run for governor of Maryland. I wrote a long story about the man, examining his record as county executive and offering a view of him that included both praise and criticism. I was 25 years old and had never written a word about Maryland politics. I was not especially knowledgeable about the state or the candidates, and the story was amateurish at best. Yet in the months of campaigning that followed, I found snippets from that article repeatedly quoted in the literature put out by Venetoulis and by his opponents. My story was used both to promote him and to attack him. To a large and slightly appalling extent, the points I made framed the public's perception of the candidate, who, as it happened, lost.

Several hours of Internet snooping by Richmond at his upstairs computer wound up shaping the public's perception of Sonia Sotomayor, at least for the first few weeks following her nomination. Conservative critics used the snippets to portray her as a racist and liberal activist, a picture even Richmond now admits is inaccurate. "She's really fairly moderate, compared to some of the other candidates on Obama's list," he says. "Given that conservatives are not going to like any Obama pick, she really wasn't all that bad." He felt many of the Web sites and TV commentators who used his work inflated its significance well beyond his own intent. But he was not displeased.

"I was amazed," he told me.

For his part, Sexton says: "It is a beautiful thing to live in this country. It's overwhelming and fantastic, really, that an ordinary citizen, with just a little bit of work, can help shape the national debate. Once you get a taste of it, it's hard to resist."

I would describe their approach as post-journalistic. It sees democracy, by definition, as perpetual political battle. The blogger's role is to help his side. Distortions and inaccuracies, lapses of judgment, the absence of context, all of these things matter only a little, because they are committed by both sides, and tend to come out a wash. Nobody is actually right about anything, no matter how certain they pretend to be. The truth is something that emerges from the cauldron of debate. No, not the truth: *victory*, because winning is way more important than being right. Power is the highest achievement. There is nothing new about this. But we never used to mistake it for journalism. Today it is rapidly replacing journalism, leading us toward a world where all information is spun, and where all "news" is unapologetically propaganda.

In this post-journalistic world, the model for all national debate becomes the trial, where adversaries face off, representing opposing points of view. We accept the harshness of this process because the consequences in a courtroom are so stark; trials are about assigning guilt or responsibility for harm. There is very little wiggle room in such a confrontation, very little room for compromise—only innocence or degrees of guilt or responsibility. But isn't this model unduly harsh for political debate? Isn't there, in fact, middle ground in most public disputes? Isn't the art of politics finding that middle ground, weighing the public good against factional priorities?

Without journalism, the public good is viewed only through a partisan lens, and politics becomes blood sport.

Television loves this, because it is dramatic. Confrontation is all. And given the fragmentation of news on the Internet and on cable television, Americans increasingly choose to listen only to their own side of the argument, to bloggers and commentators who reinforce their convictions and paint the world only in acceptable, comfortable colors. Bloggers like Richmond and Sexton, and TV hosts like Hannity, preach only to

the choir. Consumers of such "news" become all the more entrenched in their prejudices, and ever more hostile to those who disagree. The other side is no longer the honorable opposition, maybe partly right; but rather always wrong, stupid, criminal, even down-right evil. Yet even in criminal courts, before assigning punishment, judges routinely order presentencing reports, which attempt to go beyond the clash of extremes in the courtroom to a more nuanced, disinterested assessment of a case. Usually someone who is

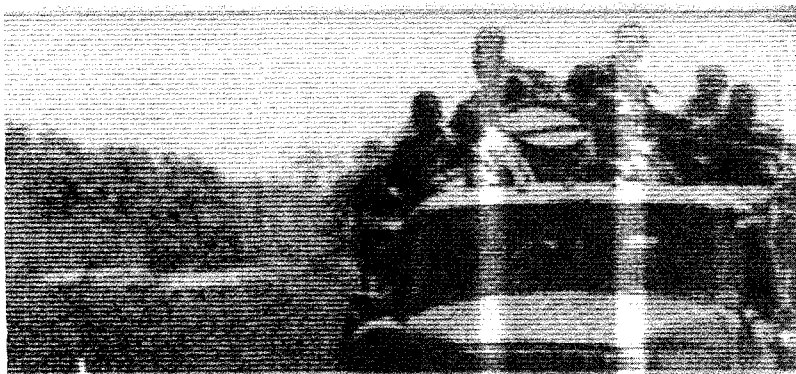
neither prosecution nor defense is assigned to investigate. In a post-journalistic society, there is no disinterested voice. There are only the winning side and the losing side.

There's more here than just an old journalist's lament over his dying profession, or over the social cost of losing great newspapers and great TV-news operations. And there's more than an argument for the ethical superiority of honest, disinterested reporting over advocacy. Even an eager and ambitious political blogger like Richmond, because he is drawn to the work primarily out of political conviction, not curiosity, is less likely to experience the pleasure of finding something new, or of arriving at a completely original, unexpected insight, one that surprises even himself. He is missing out on the great fun of speaking wholly for himself, without fear or favor. This is what gives reporters the power to stir up trouble wherever they go. They can shake preconceptions and poke holes in presumption. They can celebrate the unnoticed and puncture the hyped. They can, as the old saying goes, afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted. A reporter who thinks and speaks for himself, whose preeminent goal is providing deeper understanding, aspires even in political argument to persuade, which requires at the very least being seen as fair-minded and trustworthy by those—and this is the key—who are inclined to *disagree* with him. The honest, disinterested voice of a true journalist carries an authority that no self-branded liberal or conservative can have. "For a country to have a great writer is like having another government," Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote. Journalism, done right, is enormously powerful precisely because it does not seek power. It seeks truth. Those who forsake it to shill for a product or a candidate or a party or an ideology diminish their own power. They are missing the most joyful part of the job.

This is what H. L. Mencken was getting at when he famously described his early years as a *Baltimore Sun* reporter. He called it "the life of kings." ■

Mark Bowden, an Atlantic national correspondent, was for 25 years a reporter at The Philadelphia Inquirer.

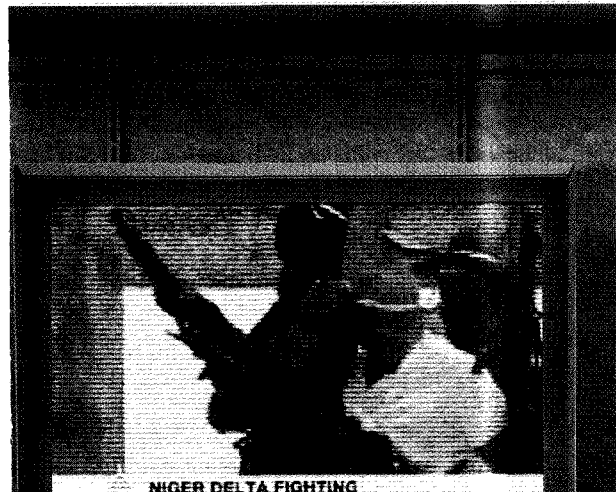
**JOURNALISM,
DONE RIGHT, IS
ENORMOUSLY
POWERFUL
BECAUSE IT DOES
NOT SEEK POWER.
IT SEEKS TRUTH.**



ETHIOPIAN TROOPS LEAVE SOMALIA
GROWING CHAOS FEARED AFTER PULLOUT



AGHALI ALAMO
PRESIDENT, NIGER MOVEMENT



NIGER DELTA FIGHTING

WHY I LOVE AL JAZEERA

too, an unbiased one-hour documentary about the Gemayel family of Christian politicians and warlords in Lebanon, and a half-hour-long investigation of the displacement of the poor from India's new economic zones.

The fact that Doha, Qatar's capital, is not the headquarters of a great power liberates Al Jazeera to focus equally on the four corners of the Earth rather than on just the flash points of any imperial or post-imperial interest. Outlets such as CNN and the BBC don't cover foreign news so much as they cover the foreign extensions of Washington's or London's collective obsessions. And Al Jazeera, rather than spotlighting people who are loaded with credentials but often have little to say, has the knack of getting people on air who have interesting things to say, like the brilliant, no-name Russian analyst I heard explaining why both Russia and China need the current North Korean regime because it provides a buffer state against free and democratic South Korea.

Al Jazeera is also endearing because it exudes *hustle*. It constantly gets scoops. It has had gritty, hands-on coverage across the greater Middle East, from Gaza to Beirut to Iraq, that other channels haven't matched. Its camera crew, for example, was the first to beam pictures from Mingora, the main town of Swat, enabling Al Jazeera to confirm that the Pakistani military had, in fact, prevailed there over the Taliban.

And Al Jazeera also excels at opening your mind. I have spent the past two years reporting from the Indian Ocean region, dealing predominantly with Muslims and indigenous nongovernmental organizations; watching Al Jazeera is the vicarious equivalent of engaging in the kinds of conversations I have been having. One of the multitude of problems I have with Fox News is that even its most analytically brilliant commentators, such as Charles Krauthammer, seem to be scoring points and talking to their own ideological kind rather than engaging in dialogue with others. Watching Fox, you have to wonder whether many of its commentators have ever had a conversation with a real live Muslim abroad.

Of course, Al Jazeera has some overt prejudices. In covering the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, for example, it is clearly on the Palestinian side. Tear-jerking features about the sufferings of the Palestinians are not matched with equal coverage of the Israeli human terrain. What you get from Al Jazeera is the developing-world point of view, or, more specifically, that of the emerging developing-world bourgeoisie; and that outlook is inherently pro-Palestinian, as well as deeply hostile to American military power. You can actually measure President Barack Obama's partial success in already changing America's image abroad by the positive coverage he has been getting lately from Al Jazeera.

Overlying Al Jazeera's pro-Palestinian and anti-Bush sentiment is a breezy, pacifist-trending internationalism. In too many of its reports, the subliminal message appears to be that compromise should be the order of the day. According to Al Jazeera, the politically weak, merely by being so, are automatically in the right. A certain kind of moral equivalency

is Al Jazeera's lifeblood. The history of human suffering seemingly begins and ends with that of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation and that of the Iraqis under erstwhile American occupation.

Yet Al Jazeera is forgivable for its biases in a way that the BBC or CNN is not. In the case of Al Jazeera, news isn't so much biased as honestly representative of a middle-of-the-road developing-world viewpoint. Where you stand depends upon where you sit. And if you sit in Doha or Mumbai or Nairobi, the world is going to look starkly different than if you sat in Washington or London, or St. Louis for that matter. By contrast, in the case of the BBC and CNN, you are explicitly aware that rather than presenting the world as they find it, those channels are taking a distinct side—the left-liberal internationalist side—in an honest and fundamental debate over foreign policy.

Halford Mackinder, the turn-of-the-20th-century father of modern geography, stated that provincialism is very useful, since it prevents the tyranny of the wider, geographical majority. What Mackinder feared, writes one of his biographers, W. H. Parker, was the horizontal organization of the world according to class and cultural and ideological tendencies. Instead, Mackinder promoted a vertical organization of the world by regions and localities. And so, just as American states and individual counties curtail the power of the federal government, other news outlets in various parts of the world may pose the only defense there ever will be against Al Jazeera, which, excellent as it is, has its own developing-world perspective.

Unfortunately, the BBC and CNN don't have so much a different viewpoint from Al Jazeera's, as a similar philosophical outlook that is more weakly and dully presented. Then there is Fox, with its jingoistic, meatloaf provincialism straight out of an earlier, black-and-white era. Could Fox cover the world as Al Jazeera does, but from a different, American-nationalist perspective? No, because what makes Fox so provincial is its utter lack of interest in the outside world in the first place, except where that world directly and obviously affects American power. What use does Fox have for Niger River rebels or dispossessed Indian farmers? Thus, we are left with the insidious despotism of Al Jazeera: and it is despotism, because we have really no other serious news channel to turn to.

George Orwell intimated in 1984 that purity can be a form of coercion, and in that respect, I find Al Jazeera's moral rectitude disturbing. Because its cause is that of the weak and the oppressed, it sees itself as always in the right, regardless of the complexity of the issues, and therein lies its power of oppression. But I will continue watching Al Jazeera wherever I can, because I find it so riveting compared with other news channels. And if my politics crawl to the left as a result, that will be yet more evidence of just how insidious Al Jazeera's influence is. ■

Robert D. Kaplan is a national correspondent for *The Atlantic* and a senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security, in Washington, D.C.

**AL JAZEERA'S
ECLECTIC
INTERNATIONALISM—
A FEAST OF VIVID,
PATHBREAKING
COVERAGE—IS A
REBUKE TO THE
DIRE PREDICTIONS
ABOUT THE END OF
FOREIGN NEWS AS
WE KNOW IT.**

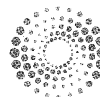


REUTERS/Mike Segar

COMPANIES RUN ON INFORMATION. LEADING COMPANIES RUN ON INTELLIGENT INFORMATION.

In today's turbulent business environment, competition is fierce. Success or failure hinges on having the right information, in the right format, at the right time. That's why leading companies rely on the intelligent information of Thomson Reuters. We deliver the relevant content clients demand, powered by innovative technology and vetted by thousands of industry experts. Whether providing ultra-low latency data, news, or timely analysis, we help make markets more transparent — and help professionals make smarter decisions, faster.

As the world's largest professional information company, we're at the epicenter of the electronic and borderless business community, operating in over 100 countries and serving clients in 300 commercial centers across the globe. Intelligent information from Thomson Reuters — we give the professionals who drive the global economy the knowledge to act. >> thomsonreuters.com



THOMSON REUTERS

KNOWLEDGE TO ACT

FINANCIAL

LEGAL

TAX & ACCOUNTING

HEALTHCARE

SCIENCE

MEDIA

MEDIA EXECUTIVES LAMENT *what the Web has done to their business. But that complaint conveniently ignores the dismal financial performance of most media conglomerates in the pre-digital era. Until media companies are willing to get back to basics and jettison the flawed thinking that has guided them over the past two decades, they will continue to disappoint their shareholders.*

The Moguls' New Clothes

By Jonathan A. Knee, Bruce C. Greenwald, and Ava Seave

TIME WARNER ANNOUNCED in May that it plans to spin off its AOL division by year end. The new AOL's value will likely be barely 1 percent of the market price of the inflated stock that Time Warner accepted in the original \$175 billion merger almost a decade ago—despite the inclusion of numerous subsequent expensive add-on acquisitions. While extreme, the Time Warner–AOL combination was no aberration. The deal represents less than half the financial damage done during an unprecedented era of excess in the media business. Since 2000, the largest media conglomerates have collectively written down more than \$200 billion in assets, a record that would make even Citigroup blush. These write-downs reflect a broad-based legacy of value destruction from relentlessly overpriced acquisitions, “strategic” investments, and contracts for content and talent.

One might be tempted to give media executives a pass because of the impact of the Internet. If we take Netscape's public offering in 1995 as the birth of the Internet era, on average

over the next 10 years the biggest media conglomerates achieved less than a third of the returns available from the S&P as a whole. But even more telling is that these companies, as a group, had also underperformed the S&P for much of the previous decade, *before* the Internet upended their industry. Indeed, one aspect of the media business has remained largely unchanged for a generation: the lousy performance of its leading companies.

Although individual media moguls have come in for skepticism and scrutiny, the industry's underlying strategies have mostly escaped question. Executives, investors, analysts, and the press seem to agree that the primary imperatives are to accelerate growth, diversify internationally, invest in content, and exploit digital convergence. Unfortunately, these are precisely the strategies that media companies pursued aggressively during the past lackluster decade.

Understanding the fundamental flaws of these four tenets of conventional media wisdom—growth, globalization, content, and convergence—is essential to saving media shareholders of the future from the anemic returns of their

JOHN CUNEO



predecessors. Each myth reflects its own confusion about the sources of competitive advantage. Indeed, media executives have been remarkably successful at convincing outsiders that this sector, possibly because of its reliance on mysterious creative factors, is somehow governed by unique business principles. Unless tomorrow's media moguls jettison these beliefs and return to sound business practices, their companies will remain unable to achieve the kind of returns investors can get by closing their eyes and throwing a dart at the stock tables.

MYTH NO. 1: GROWTH IS GOOD

Like many corporate chieftains, media executives worship growth. But all "good" things, including growth, come at a cost. In this case, that cost comes in the form of the investment needed to generate growth—whether internally or through acquisitions. When its cost is greater than its return, growth—every incremental dollar of it—actually destroys value.

Comparing the revenue growth over time of the largest media conglomerates with their respective share performances reveals a remarkable fact: a strong correlation indeed exists between revenue growth and shareholder-value creation—but it is decidedly negative. In other words, the faster revenue has grown in these companies, the worse their stock has performed. Although counterintuitive, this makes perfect sense if that growth was achieved through bad investments.

Media is the only economic sector that historically has achieved growth predominantly through mergers and acquisitions. The sheer number of transactions, as well as their later impact on share prices, raises the suspicion that they are driven by an almost blind eagerness—a suspicion reinforced by a cursory look at the biggest such deals. Some, like Time Warner's merger with AOL or Viacom's \$40 billion combination with CBS, suffered from fundamental incoherence and have since been undone. Others, however, like Comcast's \$75 billion acquisition of AT&T's broadband business, were strategically sound and flawlessly executed. But a closer

analysis suggests that even these transactions were concluded at a price that made positive net returns almost impossible.

Investing to grow bad businesses is as destructive as making bad acquisitions. Movies have attracted significant investment, driving a long-term organic growth rate that is among the fastest in media. For all the complaints about piracy, the sector has enjoyed new revenue streams from VCRs and DVDs, proliferating cable channels and distribution, video on demand, and overseas markets. Churning out more and more movies distributed through more and more avenues, the industry generated compounded annual revenue growth of 8.5 percent over the 20 years beginning in 1980. But costs grew at a compound rate of more than 11 percent annually, so for every dollar of new revenue, shareholders were actually worse off.

Investing for growth in businesses creates value only when barriers to entry—which is just another way to say "competitive advantage"—limit the competition that would destroy favorable returns. Without barriers to entry, such investments, no matter how fun, sexy, or otherwise hot at the moment, may provide psychic benefits for executives, but only heartache for shareholders.

MYTH NO. 2: THE GOSPEL OF GOING GLOBAL

One by-product of media companies' infatuation with growth seems to be a fascination with global markets. The extent to which some non-U.S. markets are less media-saturated on the one hand and faster-growing on the other seems to promise a kind of growth-multiplier effect. Why wouldn't a media mogul want to shift more operations in that direction?

But pursuit of a global footprint can be a dangerous strategy, for three reasons:

First, it's harder to enforce barriers to entry on a global scale. Big markets by definition can support many competitors, even where fixed costs are large. Scale advantages come from the size of the fixed-cost base relative to overall costs, and in a vast global market more players can justify the fixed-cost "nut" required to operate competitively. Moreover, a niche operator or one within narrow geographic limits can defend the barricades of competitive advantage with comparative ease. That's why the highest profit margins in media historically have been found in dominant local franchises like billboards, cable systems, broadcasting, small-market newspapers, and yellow pages.

Second, the track records of great nonmedia franchises in pursuing global strategies should give anyone pause. McDonald's, the poster child for consumer globalization, has historically been more profitable in North America than elsewhere. Nestlé, the classic global corporation, is far less profitable than more nationally focused rivals like Hershey in product areas like chocolate confectionery. Media companies seeking to go global must also contend with severe restrictions on the ability of foreigners to own sensitive media enterprises.

Third, consumers are more and more interested in intensely local content. The movement to replace once-dominant American shows with local fare, for example, has been evident for more than a decade.

Among major U.S.-based consumer-media conglomerates, only News Corporation is meaningfully global today, with

GABARDINE

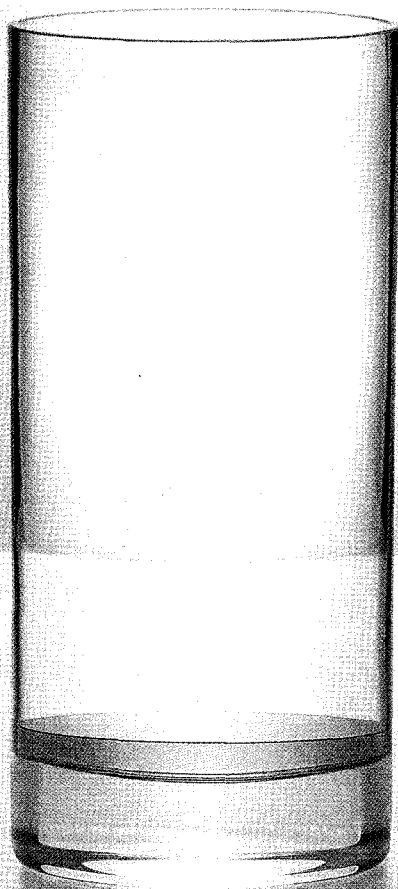
To sit in sunlight with other old men,
none with his legs crossed, our feet in loose shoes
hot and flat on the earth, hands curled in our laps
or on our knees, like birds that now and then
fly up with our words and settle again
in a slightly different way, casting a slightly
different shadow over our pants legs, gabardine,
blue, gray, or brown, warmed by the passing sun.

—Ted Kooser

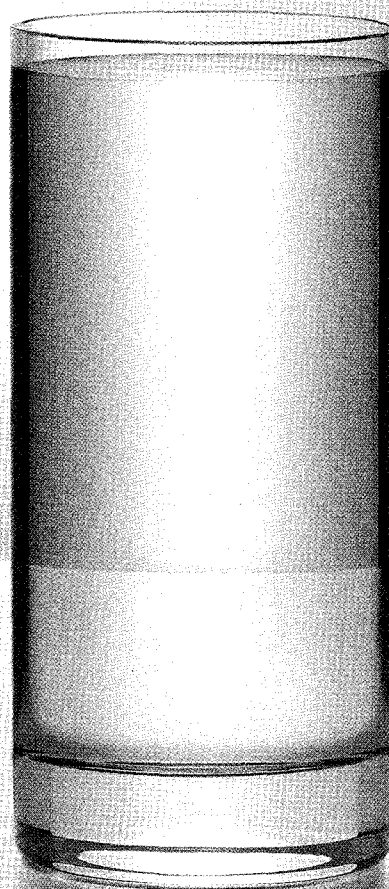
Ted Kooser is the author of numerous collections of poetry, including Valentines (2007) and Flying at Night (2005). He served as United States poet laureate from 2004 to 2006.

Simple Truth: Investment costs count

The lower the costs



the more you keep.



Many investment firms call themselves low cost. But, the truth is, many of them charge about six times as much as Vanguard.* This can cost you thousands of dollars. For instance, over twenty years, if you invest \$10,000 a year with an average return of 8% before expenses, you would keep about \$58,000 more with the lower cost fund!** And the longer you invest, the greater the savings. It's your money. Keep more of it. Vanguard. The simple truth about investing.

www.vanguard.com/simpletruth

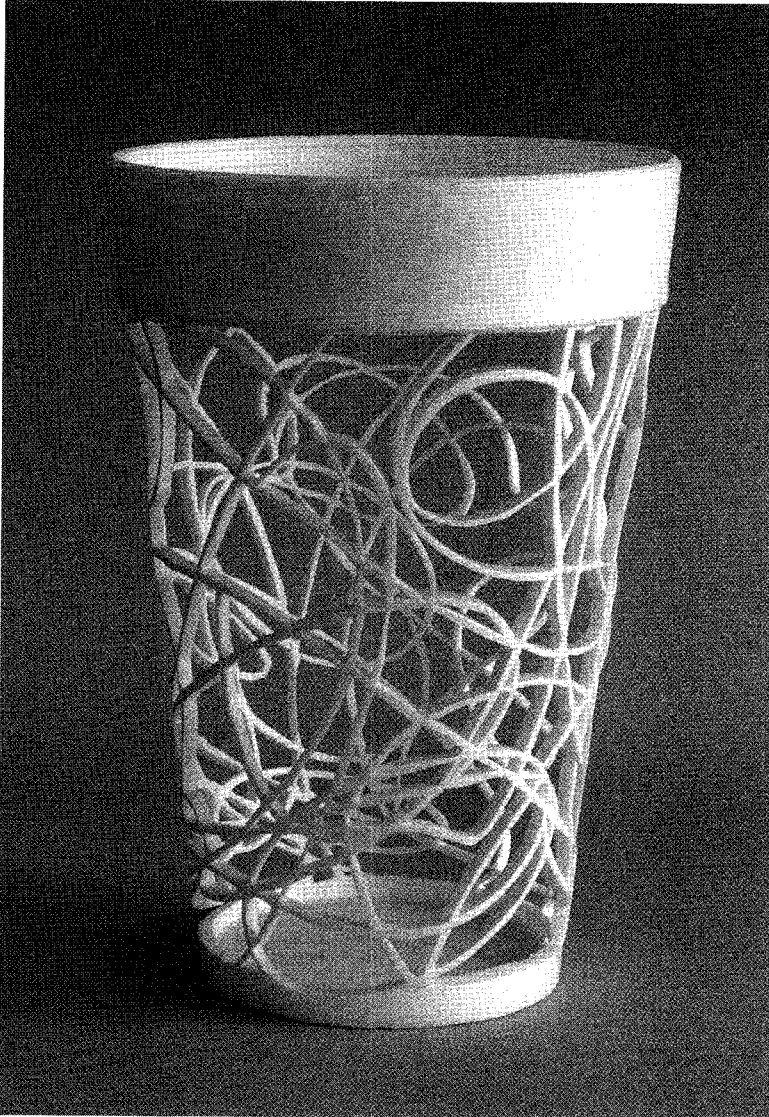


Vanguard®

Visit www.vanguard.com/simpletruth, or call 877-527-4941, to obtain a prospectus, which includes investment objectives, risks, charges, expenses, and other information; read and consider it carefully before investing. Investments are subject to market risk.*Source: Lipper Inc. as of 12/31/2008. **Based on 2008 industry average expense ratio of 1.19% and Vanguard average expense ratio of 0.20%. Hypothetical example does not represent any particular investment. Simple Truth, The simple truth about investing, Vanguard, and

the ship logo are trademarks of The Vanguard Group, Inc. ©2009 The Vanguard Group, Inc. All rights reserved. Vanguard Marketing Corporation, Distributor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



almost half of its revenue coming from outside the United States. To its credit, however, News has achieved this by pursuing a multi-local rather than a “global” strategy. Even Viacom, whose modest international operations have predominantly come from syndicating its MTV brands, has a policy of programming those networks with at least 70 percent local content.

MYTH NO. 3: CONTENT IS KING

Although Sumner Redstone likes to claim that he coined the phrase *Content is king*, it was originally popularized in connection with a series of ill-considered and now widely repudiated media deals undertaken by large Japanese consumer-hardware makers. This undistinguished pedigree has not dissuaded most major moguls of the intervening decades from continuing to parrot the slogan.

In addition to its alliterative allure, the idea that content is king has great intuitive appeal. I consume media content based on what I enjoy or find useful—surely the best

company is the one with the best content! Reinforcing this simple observation is the intense emotional response that the most powerful media can elicit. We all associate many turning points in our lives or in our understanding of the world with our exposure to a particular film, song, or book. Regardless of any developments in technology or distribution, the argument goes, the owners of this kind of precious intellectual property will also own the keys to the media kingdom.

But content cannot be king, because the talent required to create it cannot provide a sustainable competitive advantage. Even if the ability to produce compelling content perennially inhered in certain individuals or groups, there is no efficient way to monetize this skill for the benefit of shareholders rather than for the producers themselves. Big media companies may consistently exploit some creative artists, but over time, that exploitation does not produce superior corporate value. For starters, where the media companies have executives clever enough to consistently exploit the talent, these executives are typically clever enough to ensure that they are paid enough to reflect that skill. Furthermore, when particular brands seem like sure things, as in the case of a popular film franchise, more often than not a well-represented creative artist essential to that level of certainty ends up appropriating much of that value.

A number of highly profitable media companies provide so-called must-have content to professional markets, like the legal, medical, or financial communities. But even here, the actual content rarely creates the competitive advantage. Indeed, much of the content is not even owned by the media company—for instance, public legal decisions, or the price at

which two parties trade a security on an exchange. The barrier to entry raised by these companies comes instead from how they integrate, analyze, and deliver multiple sources of diverse content, much of which is widely available. Put simply, the core of any competitive advantage more often than not derives from the manner of aggregation rather than the creation of content, continuous or otherwise. It is no coincidence that Google, the most profitable and successful new media company, is an aggregator, not a content creator.

MYTH NO. 4: THE CULT OF CONVERGENCE

As the media industry emerged from the devastating recession of the early 1990s, it latched on to a new concept that represented a ray of hope. Most of the largest sectors were quite mature; others showed signs of maturation creeping into their previously relentless growth trajectory. The opportunity on the horizon for each of these very different businesses came in the form of a digital revolution that would break down the walls between distinct and unrelated

ROOSEVELT WANTED A COIN
THAT REFLECTED THE GLORY OF A NATION.

WHAT HE GOT WAS A MASTERPIECE.



UNITED STATES MINT

[The 2009 ULTRA HIGH RELIEF DOUBLE EAGLE GOLD COIN ~ by AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS]

At the request of Theodore Roosevelt | The 1907 design using today's technology
Minted in one solid or one of 24-karat gold exclusively for 2009 | usmint.gov/gloria | 1-800-1-54-NITE

© 2009 United States Mint

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business lines. New growth would come from getting into businesses that had been beyond their reach.

In 1992, a group of analysts from Goldman Sachs produced a hugely influential report that introduced a new term into the media vernacular: *Communacopia*. Goldman Sachs successfully leveraged this newly established “brand” into an annual conference trumpeting the supposed benefits to investors of these revolutionary changes. When the Internet boom came, the Goldman analysts looked even more prophetic.

Many of the Goldman analysts’ predictions were largely correct. But, as the subtitle of the original report, *A Digital Communication Bounty*, suggests, they missed, or at least did not wish to highlight, the fundamental economic implication of these observations. Sure, the report acknowledged, as in every revolution, there will be winners and losers. But in this case, their view was that the former would dwarf the latter. Music companies, production studios, and any owner of copyright, according to *Communacopia*, would be big winners. “The litany of potential new business opportunities is practically endless.” Even a seemingly obvious loser like Blockbuster, according to the authors, shouldn’t be overly concerned about the negative impact of communacopia. In their view, “the beauty” of the emerging products and business models was that they would not cannibalize Blockbuster’s core franchise but instead offer “enough distinguishing features to allow [them] to be largely incremental to the videocassette industry.”

Whenever someone suggests to you that breaking down barriers to entry is good news, hold tight to your wallet. A decrease in barriers inevitably means more competition, and more competition means less-lucrative businesses. The introduction of the Internet has only accelerated this trend of

value destruction among incumbent media players, without creating many profitable newcomers.

The Internet strikes at the very heart of the core competitive advantages historically enjoyed by traditional media companies—economies of scale and captive customers. First, it radically reduces the fixed-cost nut required to engage in all manner of activities. And it all but eliminates the actual or psychological cost that impedes a user from trying an alternative product or services.

Even as they blame the Internet for their travails, the largest media companies, like moths to a flame, continually reach out to it as their imagined salvation. Time Warner, Sony, News Corporation, Viacom, CBS, NBC Universal, and Disney together have completed more than 100 digital-business deals since the Internet bubble burst in 2000. These have ranged from early-stage investments to major strategic acquisitions, and have represented almost every business model, subject area, and geographic region. Most have been misguided or overpriced, and many have been both. And regardless of their individual merits, the relentless process of identifying and adding and integrating these businesses has distracted leaders from the crucial task of just running their existing assets, which face genuinely unprecedented challenges.

Without drastic action, the performance of media enterprises during the next 10 years is unlikely to improve—and is likely to get much worse. The drastic action required here entails jettisoning all four entrenched media myths and going back to basics: understanding the key characteristics of various media segments and applying established business principles to determine the best way forward. Although such an approach is hardly revolutionary on its face, the stark contrast between it and the conventional wisdom suggests how much work needs to be done.

In the media industry, senior executives seem to prefer “strategic visionary” to “first-rate operator” as an appellation. There is nothing wrong with searching for ways to reinforce competitive advantages under threat. But once the barriers have fallen, managers are left with the most unglamorous of activities—improving the efficiency of their operations. In the absence of investments likely to generate superior returns, an executive committed to shareholder value would not diversify for the sake of diversifying or reinvest in a clearly dissipating franchise, but simply return the money to investors. Empire-builders may find that course distasteful, but over the past two decades, media investors would certainly have been far better off if this had been the road taken. ■

Jonathan A. Knee is an adjunct professor and the director of the Media Program at Columbia Business School. Bruce C. Greenwald is the Robert Heilbrunn Professor of Finance and Asset Management at Columbia Business School. Ava Seave is co-founder of the Quantum Media consulting firm. Reprinted by arrangement with Portfolio, a member of the Penguin Group (USA) Inc., from The Curse of the Mogul. Copyright © Jonathan A. Knee, Bruce C. Greenwald, and Ava Seave, 2009.

HENS

It’s good for the ego, when I call and they come
running, squawking and clucking, because it’s feedtime,
and once again I can’t resist picking up little Lazarus,
an orange-and-white pullet I adore. “Yes, yes, everything will be
okay,” I say to her glaring mongrel face. Come September,
she’ll begin to lay the blue-green eggs I love poached.
God dooms the snake to taste nothing but the dust
and the hen to 4,000 or so ovulations. Poor Lazarus—
last spring an intruder murdered her sisters and left her
garroted in the coop. There’s a way the wounded
light up a dark rectangular space. Suffering becomes
the universal theme. Too soft, and you’ll be squeezed;
too hard, and you’ll be broken. Even a hen knows this,
posing on a manure pile, her body a stab of gold.

—Henri Cole

Henri Cole’s Pierce the Skin: Selected Poems 1982–2007 will be published next spring.

ADVERTISEMENT

For more
information, visit
**WASHINGTON
IDEASFORUM.COM**

OCTOBER 1 & 2, 2009

WASHINGTON IDEAS FORUM

Economy &
Business

Energy &
Environment

Security &
Foreign Affairs

Health Care

Education

Science &
Technology

Infrastructure &
Mobility

FASCINATING NEWSMAKERS

LEADING JOURNALISTS

AMERICA'S MOST PROMINENT HISTORIANS

WRITE THE FIRST DRAFT OF HISTORY

Presented by:

the Atlantic



THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

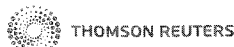
Hosted by:
NEWSEUM



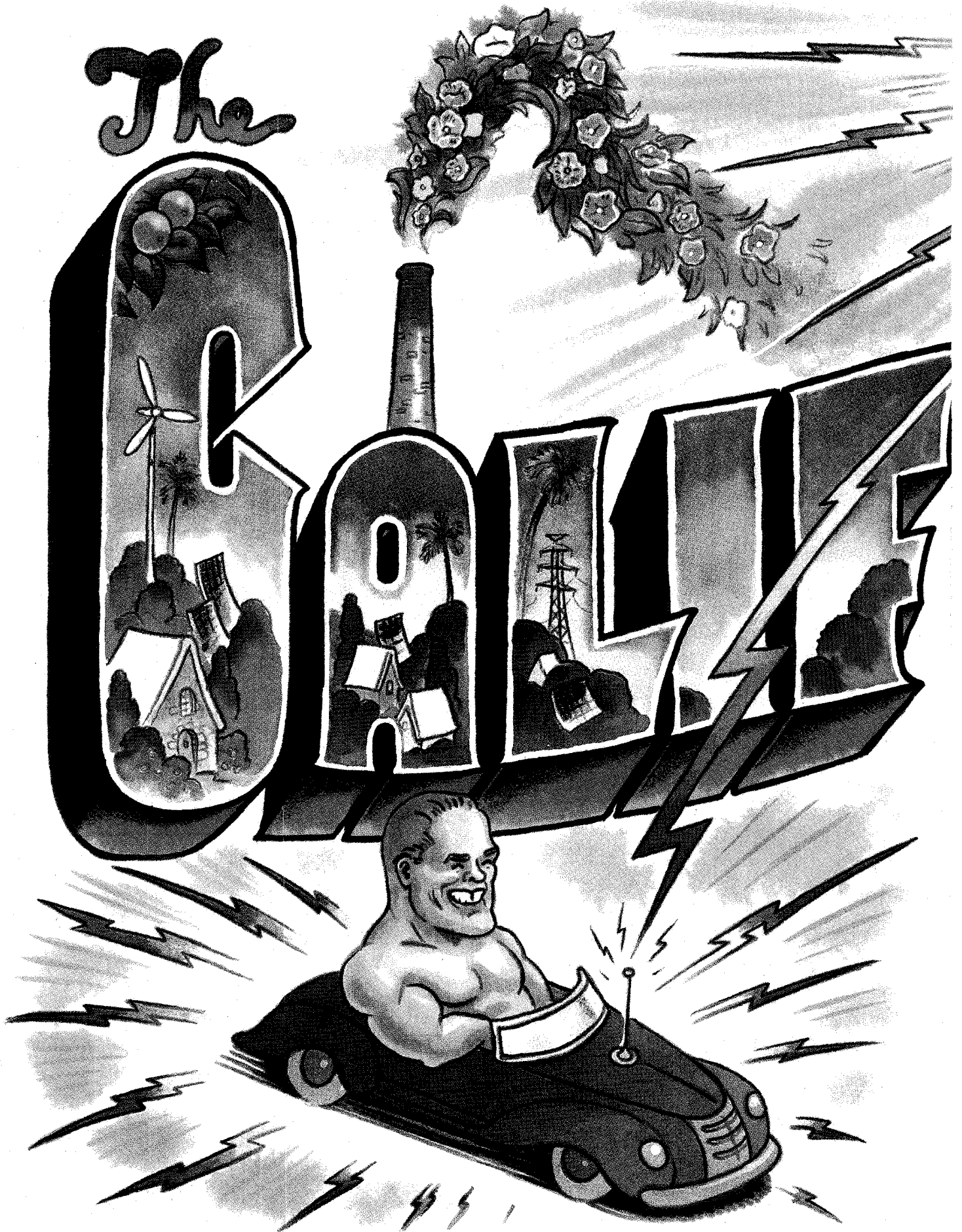
Booz | Allen | Hamilton

ERNST & YOUNG

ExxonMobil



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





EXPERIMENT

Busted budgets, failing schools, overcrowded prisons, gridlocked government—California no longer beckons as America's promised land. Except, that is, in one area: creating a new energy economy. But is its path one the rest of the nation can follow?

By Ronald Brownstein

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROSS MACDONALD



MID ALL THE starpower assembled in the White House Rose Garden on a crystalline afternoon last May, the unassuming gray-haired woman who sat beaming in a prime first-row seat went largely unnoticed. But if not for California state Senator Fran Pavley, none of the other people who had gathered might have been there at all. In 2002, as a first-term member of the California Assembly, she had steered through the

nation's first law requiring automakers to reduce the tailpipe emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases linked to global warming. Fourteen other states indicated they planned to adopt the California law. But George W. Bush's administration refused to provide the federal waiver the state needed to proceed, and the major auto companies added new hurdles by challenging the state law in court. In January 2009, when Bush left office, the California plan was as stuck as a commuter caught behind a rush-hour pileup.

With the change of administrations, though, the road suddenly cleared. Candidate Obama endorsed the California initiative, and once he became president, his aides negotiated an agreement between the state, environmentalists, the auto-workers union, and the leading auto companies to use the California law as the basis for nationwide regulations to dramatically improve the fuel efficiency, and reduce greenhouse-gas emissions, of all new cars and trucks. The result was the unprecedented, almost unimaginable, scene that unfolded, fittingly enough, under perfect California weather that May afternoon in the Rose Garden. On the podium, President Obama stood flanked by senior executives from 10 global auto companies (including eight that the U.S. government did not own). In the chairs arrayed across the lawn, environmentalists mingled with auto-industry lobbyists, and Californians who had led the fight for stronger fuel-economy standards, like Pavley and Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, wedged in beside Michigan legislators who had fiercely resisted them. Obama didn't acknowledge Pavley by name, but he made clear that without California's "extraordinary leadership," the landmark environmental agreement he was announcing might never have been reached. Californians "have led the way on this," Obama said, "as they have in so many other efforts to protect our environment."

In politics and policy at large, the time is long past when the nation routinely looked to California, as it did in the 1960s and the '70s, as the most fertile incubator of new ideas. On many fronts, the state government appears almost dysfunctional, hobbled by constitutional constraints and partisan polarization. The collapse of the state's (latest) real-estate bubble has sent California's economy into free fall. A short list of the state's current problems would include surging unemployment, struggling schools, and a budget deficit larger than the entire budget in almost every other state.

But on energy and climate change, the story is very different. Ever since the first Arab oil embargo, in 1973, California has consistently defined the forward edge of energy-policy innovation in America. In 2006, California's per capita energy consumption was the fourth-lowest in the country. The state emits only about half as much carbon per dollar of economic activity as the rest of America. It generates significantly more electricity than any other state from non-hydroelectric renewable energy sources like solar, wind, and biomass. California registers more patents associated with clean energy than any other state and attracts most of the venture capital invested in U.S. "cleantech" companies exploring everything from electric cars to solar power generation.

"I unequivocally believe we are a model for the rest of the country," says F. Noel Perry, the founder of Next 10, a non-partisan Silicon Valley-based think tank, whose "California Green Innovation Index" studies have tracked these trends.

Some of California's edge can be traced to the state's natural advantages, particularly a temperate climate that does not require as much heating in the winter or cooling in the summer as do many other parts of the country. But the difference is also rooted in conscious policy decisions. The American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy, a leading nonprofit research group, recently ranked California first among the states in promoting energy efficiency.

"California has fouled up plenty of things," said John Bryson, the former chairman of both the California Public Utilities Commission and Southern California Edison, the major Los Angeles-area utility that is a national leader in energy efficiency. "But on this set of issues—the clean-energy issues, the kind of things that need to be done in terms of the risk of climate change—I think California is getting it right ... More than any other state I know of, California has done already most of the things that need to be done."

California hasn't solved all the puzzles associated with replacing fossil fuels. And its successes cannot necessarily be easily replicated. But the state is grappling with every major energy-related issue that currently faces the country. Its experience doing so is also likely to shape an intensifying national debate, because so many key players have roots in the state, from Barbara Boxer and Henry Waxman, who chair the Senate and House committees that are considering climate change, to Energy Secretary Steven Chu. California's story illuminates some of the obstacles the nation will need to overcome as it seeks cleaner forms of power. But more broadly, California demonstrates how sustained political leadership can reshape how we produce, sell, and use energy—can "bend the curve," as they say in Silicon Valley.

THE EPICENTER of California's energy revolution might justifiably be considered a roomy, dimly lit office in the bunker-like Energy Commission building in downtown Sacramento. There, behind a long conference table, surrounded by an untouched cup of chili and plates of apples, bananas, grapes, and tomatoes, sits Art Rosenfeld, at 83 years of age compact and contained, with thinning gray hair and a slight hunch. Looking natty in a hunter-green wool sport coat and a plaid shirt, Rosenfeld has hearing aids in both ears and a BlackBerry on his belt. Nothing about Rosenfeld

is imposing, except his ideas, which for decades have earned him an audience at the highest levels of government. Former Vice President Al Gore, for one, described him to me as “a national resource. He’s quite a thinker. I like him a lot.” Then Gore laughed. “I also like that he starts to get more innovative as he gets older.”

In 1973, Rosenfeld was working as a particle physicist at the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory. That September, the Democratic-controlled state legislature passed a bill creating a commission to manage California’s energy policy. Ronald Reagan, then governor, vetoed it as an intrusion on free enterprise. But after the first Arab oil embargo caused energy prices to spike, two things happened. First, Reagan switched his position. Stung by popular discontent in car-conscious California, he agreed in 1974 to create what eventually became known as the California Energy Commission. Second, Rosenfeld shifted his focus toward energy efficiency, organizing a working group (which eventually became the Center for Building Science) at the laboratory. “I thought,” he told me dryly, “we had better do such things as learning how to turn out the lights.”

California’s new commission was born with something of an identity crisis: environmentalists hoped it would promote conservation, while utilities wanted it to fast-track production (particularly of nuclear power) to close a potentially crippling shortage in electricity generation. Rosenfeld, who had initially come to the commission’s attention when he critiqued its first energy-efficiency standards for residential buildings, quickly proved instrumental in setting the agency’s direction. In 1976, San Diego Gas & Electric Company asked the commission to approve a nuclear-power plant called Sundesert. Jerry Brown, the eclectic Democrat who succeeded Reagan as governor, didn’t want to authorize the plant, but he faced pressure to close the anticipated gap between electricity demand and supply. Rosenfeld squared the circle for him, telling Brown that if the state imposed efficiency standards on refrigerators (which then consumed about 20 percent of a typical home’s power), it would save at least as much electricity as Sundesert could produce. The state went on to block the Sundesert plant, and in 1977 the commission approved aggressive efficiency standards not only for refrigerators and freezers but also for air conditioners.

“Efficiency just gradually took over,” Rosenfeld said. In the next decade, the Energy Commission followed with efficiency standards for furnaces, dryers, swimming-pool heaters, household cooking appliances, heat pumps, showerheads, and fluorescent-lamp ballasts, among other products. Those rules became models for use in other states and, eventually, for federal appliance standards. In 1978, using a pioneering computer program developed by Rosenfeld and his colleagues, the Energy Commission opened another front by approving more-sophisticated energy-efficiency standards for new buildings. Other states, and even other countries, followed.

Around the same time, an even more obscure California regulatory agency produced another landmark innovation. Utilities traditionally make more money when they sell more electricity, especially since the fixed investment of building power plants and transmission lines comprises such a large part of their costs. As a result, their natural inclination is to encourage their customers to use more. With the state trying to save energy through its efficiency standards, that incentive seemed increasingly perverse—especially after energy prices again soared after the second oil shock, in 1979. John Bryson, a founder of the Natural Resources Defense Council, whom Brown had appointed as chairman of the California Public Utilities Commission, began looking for ways to enlist the utilities in promoting efficiency.

“I thought it was evident that [they] could make a big difference,” Bryson recalled. “But there was the fundamental fact that you were asking utilities, under the regime that existed at the time, to forego returns for their shareholders, because their returns were meaningfully based on increasing electricity sales.”

The solution was a policy known as “decoupling” because it severed the link between consumption and profits. Here’s how it worked: the commission first set a revenue target for utilities by calculating how much money they needed to make to recover their fixed costs, plus an approved profit rate. Next, the commission estimated how much power it expected the utility to sell. Then, it established an energy price that would allow the utility to meet its revenue target at the expected level of sales. If the utility sold more power than it needed to meet its target, the difference was returned to consumers. If it sold less, rates were increased to make up the difference. Applied to natural-gas sales in 1978 and electricity in 1982, decoupling had a profound effect.

“Utilities were rendered indifferent to sales,” says Ralph Cavanagh, a senior NRDC attorney and central figure in California energy policy since the late 1970s. “They couldn’t make more money by selling more; they didn’t lose money by selling less. Their addiction to increased sales was eliminated.” In September 2007, the state utility regulators shifted the incentives for utilities further toward conservation by allowing them to split the savings with customers whenever energy use falls below state targets.

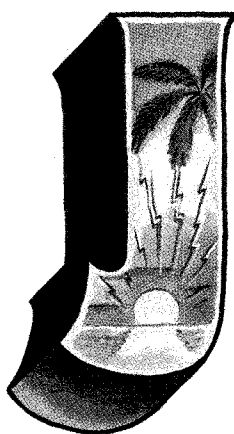
How much those twin rules—decoupling and decoupling-plus, as they are known—have changed the motivation of utility companies became clear when I visited Peter A. Darbee, the chairman, CEO, and president of Pacific Gas & Electric. Darbee works on the 24th floor of a San Francisco office tower in a glass-enclosed corner office that looks like a ship’s bridge. The office has panoramic views of the Embarcadero, and on the windy, sunny day we spoke, boats silently glided through the water in the distance, as if a painting had somehow been set into motion.

“I think the biggest key to the success in California was putting in place the right incentives for California utilities,” Darbee noted. Echoing Cavanagh, Darbee said that

The average Californian today uses about 40 percent less electricity per year than the average American.

decoupling made the utilities “neutral or indifferent” to sales; then decoupling-plus provided utilities “an incentive to sell less power rather than more.” With those economic signals nudging the utilities, he continued, “all of a sudden you’ve unleashed the power of these huge organizations to work with you rather than against you.” Darbee said that sometimes when he’s out sailing with customers, they will say to him, “Peter, you would love us, because we have all sorts of lights and air conditioning and we are using a lot of your power.” And I look at them and say, ‘Well, actually I’d prefer that you use a lot less.’ And they look at me like I’m crazy. And then I say to them, ‘We actually make more money if we sell you less power, and we make less if we sell you more power.’”

Efficiency and decoupling have helped California to consume electricity far more thriftily than the rest of America. At the time of the 1973 oil shock, California used about 17 percent less electricity per person than the country at large. Since then, as Rosenfeld likes to point out in a chart that has been dubbed “the Rosenfeld Curve,” per capita electricity use in the nation has increased by about 50 percent to about 12,000 kilowatt-hours annually. Meanwhile, over that same period, per capita electricity use in California has remained absolutely flat at about 7,000 kilowatt-hours per year. That means the average Californian today uses about 40 percent less electricity per year than the average American.



AMES SWEENEY, who runs Stanford University’s Precourt Energy Efficiency Center, has calculated with Anant Sudarshan, a colleague, that much of that difference can be explained by factors such as California’s temperate climate, less heavy industry, and even smaller-sized households. But, Sweeney says, the state’s policy decisions still account for a substantial amount—roughly one-fifth to one-fourth—of the gap in electricity usage between California and the nation. The focus on efficiency

has produced huge savings: though per kilowatt electricity rates are higher in California than in most other places, consumers pay lower electricity bills because they use so much less power than people elsewhere. A few years ago, the California Energy Commission calculated that the state’s efficiency efforts had preempted the need for 24 large-scale power plants and saved state consumers \$56 billion.

Rosenfeld says the past generation’s gains indicate the state can improve its energy intensity (the amount of energy required to produce each dollar of GDP) by about 30 percent every decade. “Efficiency,” he says with a twinkle, “seems to be a renewable resource.”

And there is the initial lesson from California’s energy experience: efficiency is the foundation of any effort to reduce reliance on fossil fuels. As California has learned, the most cost-effective way to replace coal or natural gas or petroleum isn’t to rely on solar or wind or biofuels; it’s to squeeze more work out of less energy.

After the state’s early breakthroughs, the 1990s were

largely a lost decade for California on energy. The state detoured into a failed experiment with utility deregulation that produced price spikes and rolling blackouts, forced PG&E into bankruptcy, and helped to make Enron a household name. But even that disaster, which ended when the state legislature suspended the deregulation experiment in 2001, fueled another burst of energy innovation in California.

In July 2002, the legislature passed Fran Pavley’s bill establishing the precedent-setting requirement for auto companies to reduce the tailpipe emissions of the gases linked to global warming, a standard the companies had been expected to meet primarily by improving the fuel efficiency of their vehicles. Since the Clean Air Act in 1970, California—alone among all states—has had the authority to impose pollution-control standards more stringent than the national rules, so long as the federal Environmental Protection Agency concluded that the regulations were not arbitrary or unreasonable. But the lawsuits from the major auto companies, and the Bush administration’s refusal to provide an EPA waiver, had prevented California from implementing the Pavley law until President Obama announced the breakthrough with the auto industry this May.

Those anticipating that the name *Pavley* is some clever policy acronym like CAFE or COBRA are sometimes surprised to find attached to the legislation the actual Fran Pavley. “It’s really quite hysterical,” she says. “I’ve been at some conferences and there will be legislators from different states and they will go around the room and they’re like, ‘We’ve adopted Pavley.’ ‘They killed Pavley.’ ‘I can’t bring up Pavley.’ And I’ll go, ‘I’m Pavley.’ And they’ll go, ‘What?’ I don’t know what they thought.”

Disarmingly informal and chatty, Pavley is in her spare but somehow homey office in the California Capitol in Sacramento, talking as if we were sitting across a kitchen table. Though we were deep inside the dusky Capitol building, a pair of sunglasses was improbably perched in her hair. Before going into state politics, first in the Assembly and now in the Senate, she had spent most of her career as a middle-school teacher. Even though she had accumulated some political and environmental background as a local mayor and a member of the state Coastal Commission, Pavley might have seemed an unlikely architect of such important legislation. In fact, she benefited from being underestimated (“First-term freshman, middle-school teacher—the opposition didn’t show up in droves,” she recalls), and ultimately she assembled a broad coalition.

Pavley also benefited from another factor she had not anticipated: California’s legacy as an environmental pacesetter. That work dates back to the 1940s, when concern about smog in Los Angeles led the state to establish the nation’s first county-level air-pollution-control districts. Rather than being intimidated by the prospect of setting a new national standard, legislators seemed to welcome that role, particularly after George W. Bush in 2001 renounced the global climate-change treaty. “They weren’t going anywhere [in Washington],” Pavley said. “We had pushed the envelope on unleaded gas and catalytic converters. This was sort of the same.” Governor Gray Davis signed the tailpipe bill into law in late July 2002.

A mandate for change is a mandate for smart.

The world is ready for change – that much is clear.

For leaders of all kinds, this moment presents a rare opportunity. Our planet is not just getting smaller and flatter. It is also becoming smarter. And that means we have the potential to change the way the world literally works.

Computational power is now being put into things we wouldn't recognize as computers – cars, appliances, cameras, roadways...even pharmaceuticals and livestock. We are interconnecting all of this through the Internet, which has come of age. And we are applying powerful new systems and sophisticated analytics to turn oceans of data into insight, knowledge and intelligence.

Consider the changes already under way.

Smart traffic systems are helping to reduce gridlock by 20%, cutting pollution and increasing ridership on public transit.

Smart food systems based on RFID technology embedded into supply chains are monitoring meat, poultry and other items from the farm to the super-market shelf.

Smart healthcare systems are helping to lower the cost of therapy by as much as 90%.

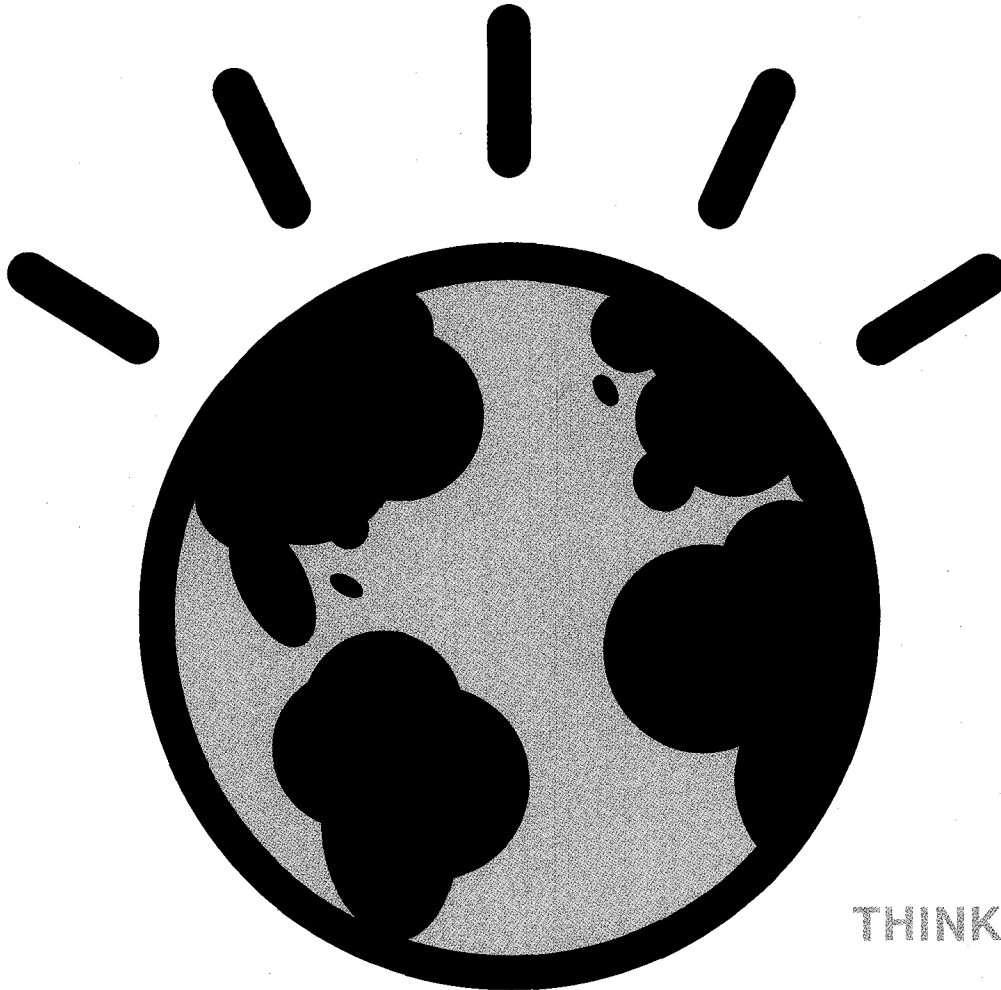
Police departments are correlating street-level information from myriad observations and devices to identify crime patterns – helping prevent crime, rather than simply punishing it.

The list is long, and the transformation is just beginning. Its benefits will be reaped not only by large enterprises, but also by mid-sized and small companies – the engines of economic growth everywhere – and by individuals and communities around the world.

Imagine how a smarter planet will transform *all* the things we seek. The ways we pursue economic growth, societal progress, environmental sustainability and cures for disease. The way we interact with each other and with the world.

The opportunity is before us, and the moment will not last forever. Will we seize it? As we look to stimulate our economies and rebuild our infrastructure, will we simply repair what's broken? Or will we prepare for a smarter future?

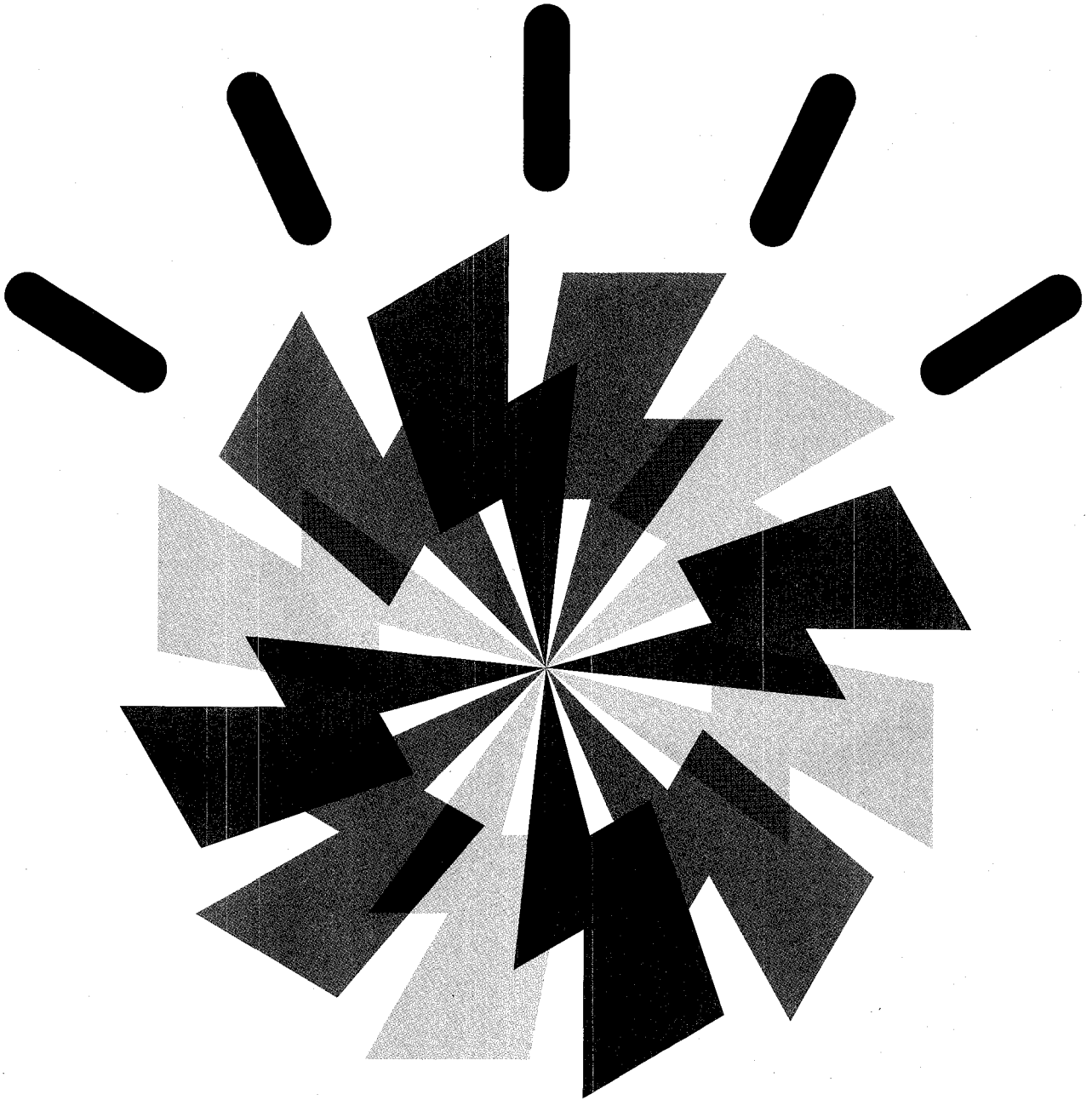
Join us at ibm.com/think



IBM, the IBM logo and ibm.com are trademarks of International Business Machines Corporation, registered in many jurisdictions worldwide. A current list of IBM trademarks is available on the Web at "Copyright and trademark information" at www.ibm.com/legal/copytrade.shtml.



THINK



Conversations for a Smarter Planet

Smarter power for a smarter planet.

For most of the last century, our electrical grids were a symbol of progress. The inexpensive, abundant power they brought changed the way the world worked—filling homes, streets, businesses, towns and cities with energy.

But today's electrical grids reflect a time when energy was cheap, their impact on the natural environment wasn't a priority and consumers weren't even part of the equation. Back then, the power system could be centralized, closely managed and supplied by a relatively small number of large power plants. It was designed to distribute power in one direction only—not to manage a dynamic global network of energy supply and demand.

As a result of inefficiencies in this system, the world's creation and distribution of electric power is wasteful. With little or no intelligence to balance loads or monitor power flows, enough electricity is lost annually to power India, Germany and Canada for an entire year. If the U.S. grid alone were just 5% more efficient, it would be like permanently eliminating the fuel and greenhouse gas emissions from 53 million cars. Billions of dollars are wasted generating energy that never reaches a single lightbulb.

Fortunately, our energy can be made smart. It can be managed like the complex global system it is.

We can now instrument everything from the meter in the home to the turbines in the plants to the network itself. In fact, the intelligent utility system actually looks a lot more like the Internet than like a traditional grid. It can be linked to thousands of power sources—including climate-friendly ones such as wind and solar. All of this instrumentation then generates new data, which advanced analytics can turn into insight, so that better decisions can be made in real

time. Decisions by individuals and businesses on how they can consume more efficiently. Decisions by utility companies on how they can better manage delivery and balance loads. Decisions by governments and societies on how to preserve our environment. The whole system can become more efficient, reliable, adaptive...smart.

Smart grid projects are already helping consumers save 10% on their bills and are reducing peak demand by 15%. Imagine the potential savings when this is scaled to include companies, government agencies and universities. And imagine the economic stimulus that an investment in smarter grids could provide in America's current crisis.

Actually, there's no need for imagination. The investment now being shaped in Washington could yield almost a quarter of a million jobs in digitizing the grid and in related industries such as alternative energy and automotive. It could enable new forms of industrial innovation by creating exportable skills, resources and technology.

IBM scientists and industry experts are working on smart energy solutions around the world. We're working with utility companies globally to accelerate the adoption of smart grids to help make them more reliable and give customers better usage information. We're working on seven of the world's ten largest automated meter management projects. We're even exploring how to harness intermittent wind power by turning millions of future electric vehicles into a distributed storage system.

Our electrical grids can be a symbol of progress again—if we imbue the entire system with intelligence. And we can. Let's build a smarter planet. Join us and see what others are thinking at **ibm.com/think**

Just weeks later, in September, Davis signed another landmark bill. This one required the state's three investor-owned utilities to generate 20 percent of their electricity from renewable sources like solar and wind by 2017. This wasn't the nation's first so-called Renewable Portfolio Standard for utilities, but it was among the most ambitious. After Schwarzenegger arrived, the state raised the bar on the utilities' renewable-power requirement twice more: the utilities must generate 20 percent of their power from renewable sources by 2010 and fully 33 percent by 2020.

The state approved its initial renewable-sources standards law soon after the collapse of the dot-com bubble. The new mandates on utilities to buy renewable power reinforced the nascent sense among investors and entrepreneurs that clean energy might be the Next Big Thing. From 2005 through 2008, the amount of venture capital flowing into cleantech start-up companies in California exploded from about \$456 million a year to \$3.3 billion. By one estimate, California was home to nearly three-fifths of all the U.S. venture capital invested last year in clean energy. With the investment spigots opened, the number of clean-energy companies in California increased by nearly 30 percent between 1995 and 2007.

All of this activity points to the second lesson from California's energy experience: regulations can create markets. "It's much easier to make a big investment knowing that there will be a market and an opportunity to participate in it," says Ellen K. Pao, a partner at Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers, a leading Silicon Valley venture firm. Initially, neither the utilities nor the investors seemed convinced that state regulators would enforce the renewable standards. But once the legislature and Schwarzenegger sent a clear message by toughening the requirements, the pace of activity enormously accelerated. Solar energy today provides less than 1 percent of the state's power, but over the past few years, PG&E and Southern California Edison have leapfrogged each other in signing contracts with start-up companies for what is planned as the world's largest solar production facility. (The California utilities find solar more attractive than wind because the sun's energy is available on the hottest days, when demand is greatest, but hot days in California are usually still; the wind in the state blows mostly at night, when demand is lower.) Both SoCal Edison and, more recently, PG&E are also seeking approval from state regulators to operate their own large-scale photovoltaic arrays, many on the roofs of warehouses and other big commercial buildings.

The slow start, and the long lead time needed to construct large renewable facilities and the associated transmission lines, mean the utilities are unlikely to reach the state's 20 percent threshold by 2010. But most experts believe they will meet the goal not long thereafter. And the tilt in the utilities' priorities toward alternative energy now appears irreversible.

"There is a smattering of activity in other states ... but not what you'd call a marketplace with a recurring flow of opportunity," says Mike Ahearn, the CEO of First Solar Incorporated, which is manufacturing thin-film solar panels for SoCal Edison's rooftop project. "California is *the* solar market in the United States."



TORM CLOUDS, BOTH literal and metaphoric, were buffeting the Capitol building on the blustery day when I met with Schwarzenegger to discuss the state's energy strategy. Schwarzenegger and Democrats in the state legislature were still locked in a budget standoff with legislative Republicans. (The immediate impasse was finally broken two days later, but the state didn't

reach a final resolution on the budget until this summer, after voters rejected all but one of the ballot initiatives central to the original agreement.) We met in a tent Schwarzenegger has had constructed, complete with Astroturf flooring, in an interior courtyard of the Capitol building, where he can smoke cigars without violating the building's no-smoking rule. When I arrived, Schwarzenegger, in a blue suit and cowboy boots emblazoned with the California state seal, was contentedly puffing a stogie. For a man facing fiscal meltdown, he appeared remarkably relaxed, though the weather seemed to be offering its own commentary: the torrential downpour lashing Sacramento that day drummed on the tent so loudly that at times it was hard to hear him talk.

Schwarzenegger had pledged to advance environmental causes during his initial gubernatorial campaign in 2003. But when he arrived in Sacramento, environmentalists and legislative Democrats were skeptical about the commitment of a Republican governor whose most prominent previous association with energy issues had been to encourage General Motors to adapt the Humvee for civilian use. "They felt ... when I came here, 'Oh, here's a Republican, he is going to set us back seven years, so let's not hope for much,'" Schwarzenegger told me. Legislators may have heard all his campaign promises, but "they thought it was just stuff that you say in order to get elected."

In fact, Schwarzenegger would bang heads with environmentalists and their legislative allies on some regulatory issues. But on questions surrounding the transition toward a new energy economy, no governor would prove as visionary or determined. Ambitious new initiatives have cascaded out of Schwarzenegger's office—including the two measures raising the renewable-power requirement on utilities, a state subsidy program to encourage the installation of electricity-generating solar panels on 1 million California roofs, and in January 2007, an executive order establishing the nation's first "low-carbon fuel standard," which requires a reduction of at least 10 percent in the carbon emissions from transportation fuels by 2020.

"People make decisions in this building, a lot of times, based on what is their term," he told me, gesturing with his cigar toward the offices around him. "So they make a decision, what can be done in the next four years ... I always look 50 years ahead, because to me, I cannot think just about what can I accomplish while I am in office. The thing that is important is, what should the state look like 20, 30, 40 years from

now.” The search for a new energy strategy also spoke to Schwarzenegger’s desire to define California (and undoubtedly himself) as the forward edge of innovation. “My idea [was] that you shouldn’t just do it for California, that everything we do, we should use as a way of pushing the rest of the world, because I am a big believer in marketing,” he said.

Schwarzenegger’s interest in big, course-changing initiatives, and the continuing desire among Democratic legislative leaders to challenge then-President Bush’s energy policies, converged to produce yet another landmark initiative in 2006. After some occasionally tense maneuvering, the legislature passed and Schwarzenegger signed a Pavley-sponsored bill imposing the nation’s first mandatory statewide reductions in greenhouse-gas emissions. The bill required the state by 2020 to roll back its emissions to the 1990 level—a reduction of about 15 percent from the current level. (By separate executive order, Schwarzenegger also committed the state to an 80 percent reduction by 2050.) Environmentalists had been promoting exactly those goals as national policy without success under Bush. Once again, the stalemate in Washington emboldened Sacramento. California acted, Schwarzenegger told me, “because we saw no hope on the national level.” It was, he continued, “very important to let Washington know, ‘Look, you are not the one making all the decisions.’”

Once California had passed its greenhouse-gas-emissions law, Schwarzenegger deputized Terry Tamminen, his key environmental adviser, to encourage other states to follow. That effort has been a striking success: six states, and four Canadian provinces, have joined with California in the Western Climate Initiative, which has pledged to impose mandatory greenhouse-gas-emission reductions comparable to California’s 2020 goal through a market-based regional cap-and-trade system.

The passage of California’s climate-change legislation captured a third major lesson of the state’s experience: just as regulations create markets, markets create constituencies. Much of the state’s business establishment opposed the bill. But the legislation drew countervailing support from the state’s cleantech community, which was growing partly in response to the state’s earlier alternative-energy initiatives. At a critical moment, a delegation of Silicon Valley venture capitalists and entrepreneurs led by John Doerr of Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers visited the Capitol to declare that the greenhouse bill would, in the group’s words, “stimulate innovation, efficiency, and economic benefits.” “It changed the whole dynamic,” Pavley said. “Before, all the papers were [saying], ‘This is an environmental bill,’ and businesses were opposed. After that ... It changed the whole discussion.” Schwarzenegger meanwhile helped coax support from more-traditional business interests, including PG&E.

PETER DARBEE, a self-described conservative, has become an ardent proponent of mandatory carbon-emission reductions. After assuming PG&E’s top job in 2005, he convened a series of meetings for senior executives with scientists on both sides of the climate issue. The conclusion he reached was unequivocal: “The Earth was warming, mankind was responsible, and the need for action is now.” And partly because of the utility’s experience at meeting the state’s

energy-efficiency goals, he said, he also concluded that while there will be “some cost” to reducing greenhouse-gas emissions, “that cost is very small, compared to the cost of not doing something. If people approach this, as we have, as an opportunity, it could actually have zero or little cost, or [produce] a net benefit.”

Darbee’s optimism reflects a larger truth about the politics of energy in California: unlike in most states, enough industries in California have found ways to profit from the state’s first waves of reform to create a durable constituency for continued change and innovation.

AS A RESULT of the climate-change bill, the state is several years ahead of the country again, this time in exploring what reducing carbon emissions will actually take. “There was no model to work from,” said Mary D. Nichols, the chairwoman of the California Air Resources Board, which has been tasked with administering the climate bill. Last December, the board approved a “scoping plan” that offered the most detailed road map any government agency has yet charted for reducing greenhouse emissions. It pointed to a fourth major lesson from the California energy experience: moving toward a low-carbon economy will require attacking the problem from almost every conceivable angle.

The plan anticipates that the largest reductions will come from the major reforms the state has adopted in recent years, including the Pavley emissions law, the renewable portfolio requirement, and the cap-and-trade system itself. But it also envisions renewed efficiency efforts, improved regional planning to reduce sprawl, more installation of distributed solar power on rooftops, changes in forestry and water-distribution practices, and so on.



FOR ALL OF THE CHANGES required, Nichols is confident the state is on course to launch its cap-and-trade system one year early (in 2011) and to meet its 2020 carbon-reduction goals. Still, California’s experience highlights several obstacles the country may face in any transition toward a lower-carbon economy. Foremost among these, ironically, may be the environmental challenges of producing more renewable power. Large-scale solar arrays consume substantial amounts of land. As plans move forward for new facilities in the Mojave Desert and elsewhere, environmentalists are uneasily monitoring the potential impact on sensitive habitats. Even more daunting are the extended permitting and regulatory processes for building the transmission lines required to carry wind and solar power to population centers.

“Transmission is the biggest constraint,” says Michael R. Peevey, who is the president of the California Public Utilities Commission. Typically, he says, it takes eight to 10 years to plan, permit, and build a high-voltage transmission line. The commission has projected that California will need to build five such lines to meet its 2020 renewable-power goals.

The likelihood that that will happen is even lower than the likelihood that Los Angeles will ban Botox.

Another challenge is the precarious financial condition of some of the start-up alternative-energy companies that the California utilities are relying upon to deliver wind and solar power. Even before the credit crunch, skeptics questioned whether the new energy companies possessed the financial, engineering, and logistical capacity to fulfill their agreements with state utilities to build huge generation plants. The difficulty in obtaining credit will likely make it harder for some suppliers to reach the size required to deliver their technologies at an industrial scale. Some analysts think many of the alternative-energy start-ups may instead need to license their technology to the utilities, which can more easily raise the money to build generating facilities themselves. But while more direct ownership by the utilities (or, for that matter, oil companies) might speed the deployment of alternative energy, it would also raise concerns about concentrating control over the next century's energy supplies in the same behemoths that dominated the fossil-fuel era.

Other technological challenges also loom—from upgrading the electricity grid so it can handle the intermittent nature of solar and wind power, to developing the battery capacity required to make electric cars more than a niche competitor. But the greatest unknown may be whether the state's energy agenda will eventually provoke a backlash among voters. To meet the greenhouse-gas reduction targets, the state may need to consider measures that average families might consider too intrusive, like imposing fees on the owners of cars that emit the most carbon dioxide. Energy prices are another wild card.

If household utility bills noticeably rise, the political calculus might change, particularly if the economy remains weak.

Yet, for now, the key to energy politics in California is that the state has transcended the assumption, common in many other regions, that sustainability requires scarcity. The California perspective reflects the fusion of the state's long-time environmental ethos with the techno-optimism of Silicon Valley. "We look at this as an economic opportunity," says Doug Henton, an economic consultant to Next 10 and the chairman and CEO of Collaborative Economics. "What's been holding back other states and [the nation] is this fear that we're going to lose more than we gain."

Clearly, some structural advantages have encouraged that attitude in California. It is easier for California to shift toward renewable sources of electricity, for instance, because it never relied as much as most states on low-cost coal (even including its imports of coal-generated power from neighboring states); it also has an unusually favorable climate for generating solar energy.

"This isn't something you can design as an exact blueprint, a cookie cutter that is applicable everywhere," says Mary D. Nichols. But in moving toward a low-carbon future, California has its own unique challenges, starting with its excessive reliance on cars. On balance, the state's energy successes

have been shaped less by the state's underlying circumstances than by the public policies California has pursued.

The big lessons of the California energy experience—rely on efficiency first, use regulation to create markets, use markets to create constituencies, attack the problem from all angles—might be implemented in different ways, but their basic principles can be applied everywhere. California's experience says the evolution to a lower-carbon, more energy-efficient economy is possible and compatible with economic growth, but that the change requires endurance, consistency, and flexibility. Schwarzenegger captures the point with a characteristically personal metaphor:

"The key thing with everything is not to concentrate so much on the process but to concentrate on the goal. When I said I am going to be Mr. Universe, and I was 15 years old in Austria, I had no idea how to train and how to get there. But I had the fire in the belly, and I had the will to say that I will be the world champion even though it was not an Austrian sport, and no one had ever done it in Austria ... The will was there. So the same is here. We have the will to get there by 2020 ... and therefore we are going to ... make decisions based on getting there."

No one exemplifies that spirit of persistence more than Art Rosenfeld. He has been around long enough that as a graduate student he studied under Enrico Fermi. The wall of Rosenfeld's office is covered with awards that stretch back decades. Yet, at 83, he has a new passion. Rosenfeld is crusading to replace dark roofs, which trap most of the sun's heat, with white or "cool" roofs that are far more reflective, and thus save energy by keeping the building below cool. California has accepted his logic by requiring all

newly constructed commercial buildings with flat roofs to use white. In 2010, Energy Commission rules will encourage new homes and remodeling projects in the state's five hottest regions to use "cool color" roof surfaces in green, brown, or other shades that reflect more heat than dark roofs.

Rosenfeld finds those rules a little disappointing, because the cool-color roofs reduce energy use by only about one-third as much as white roofs, but he understands the need to ease homeowners into a new approach. And even those requirements could yield substantial reductions. Rosenfeld has calculated that a global conversion, over the next 20 years, to white flat roofs and cool-color sloped roofs as far north as Chicago and as far south as Buenos Aires would reduce carbon emissions by an amount equivalent to taking about one-half of the world's passenger cars off the roads. Rosenfeld is content to start small but, as always, he's thinking big. To him, after all, it seems an eminently reasonable proposition that one American state can prompt the entire country, if not the world, to save massive amounts of energy and combat climate change, by reconsidering a central pillar of how buildings have been designed for centuries. Based on California's experience over the past 35 years, I wouldn't bet against him. ■

Ronald Brownstein is the political director for Atlantic Media Company.

On questions surrounding the transition toward a new energy economy, no governor has proved as visionary or as determined as Schwarzenegger.

SINGULARITY SUMMIT 09

OCTOBER 3-4, 2009

102nd Street Y, Kaufmann Concert Hall in New York City

The world's premier conference on
the singularity and
advanced artificial

Americans want, and need, to move on from the debate over torture in Iraq and Afghanistan and close this tragic chapter in our nation's history. Prosecuting those responsible could tear apart a country at war. Instead, the best way to confront the crimes of the past is for the man who authorized them to take full responsibility. An open letter to President George W. Bush.

By ANDREW SULLIVAN

Dear President Bush,

WE HAVE NEVER MET, and so I hope you will forgive the personal nature of this letter. I guess I should start by saying I supported your presidential campaign in 2000, as I did your father's in 1988, and lauded your first efforts to wage war against jihadist terrorism in the wake of 9/11. »



100-441457-10 2000-07-20
LICENSED TO UNICORE
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some of my praise of your leadership at the time actually makes me blush in retrospect, but your September 20, 2001, address to Congress really was one of the finest in modern times; your immediate grasp of the import of 9/11—a declaration of war—was correct; and your core judgment—that religious fanaticism allied with weapons of mass destruction represents a unique and new threat to the West—was and is dead-on. I remain proud of my support for you in all this. No one should forget the pure evil of September 11; no one should doubt the continued determination of an enemy prepared to slaughter thousands in cold blood in pursuit of heaven on Earth.

Of course, like most advocates of the Iraq War, I grew dismayed at what I saw as the mistakes that followed: the failure to capture Osama bin Laden at Tora Bora; the intelligence fiasco of Saddam's nonexistent stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction; the failure to prepare for an insurgency in Iraq; the reckless disbandment of the Iraqi army; the painful slowness in adapting to drastically worsening conditions there in 2004–06; the negligence toward Afghanistan.

These were all serious errors; but they were of a kind often made in the chaos of war. And even your toughest critics concede that, eventually, you adjusted tactics and strategy. You took your time, but you evaded catastrophe in temporarily stabilizing Iraq. I also agree with the guiding principle of the war you proclaimed from the start: that expanding democracy and human rights is indispensable in the long-term fight against jihadism. And I believe, as you do, that a foreign policy that does not understand the universal yearning for individual freedom and dignity is not a recognizably American foreign policy.

Yet it is precisely because of that belief that I lost faith in your war. In long wars of ideas, moral integrity is essential to winning, and framing the moral contrast between the West and its enemies as starkly as possible is indispensable to victory, as it was in the Second World War and the Cold War. But because of the way you chose to treat prisoners in American custody in wartime—a policy that degraded human beings with techniques typically deployed by brutal dictatorships—we lost this moral distinction early, and we have yet to regain it. That truth hangs over your legacy as a stain that has yet to be removed. As more facts emerge, the stain could darken further. You would like us to move on. So would the current president. But we cannot unless we find a way to address that stain, to confront and remove it.

I have come to accept that it would be too damaging and polarizing to the American polity to launch legal prosecutions against you, and deeply unfair to solely prosecute those acting on your orders or in your name. President Obama's decision thus far to avoid such prosecutions is a pragmatic and bipartisan one in a time of war, as is your principled refusal to criticize him publicly in his first months. But moving on without actually confronting or addressing the very grave evidence of systematic abuse and torture under your administration poses profound future dangers. It gives the impression that nothing immoral or illegal took place. Indeed, since leaving office, your own vice president has even bragged of these interrogation techniques; and many in your

own party threaten to reinstate such policies in the future. Their extreme rhetoric seems likely to shape—to contaminate—history's view of your presidency, indeed of the Bush name, and the world's view of America. But my biggest fear is this: in the event of a future attack on the United States, another president will feel tempted, or even politically compelled, to resort to the same brutalizing policy, with the same polarizing, demoralizing, war-crippling results. I am writing you now because it is within your power—and only within your power—to prevent that from happening.

Don't misunderstand me. The war was compromised, not by occasional war crimes, or bad snap decisions by soldiers acting under extreme stress, or the usual, ghastly stuff that war is made of. All conflicts generate atrocities. Very few have been without sporadic abuse of prisoners or battlefield errors. As long as these lapses are investigated and punished, the integrity of a just war can be sustained.

But this war is different. It began with a memo from your office stating that—for the first time—American service members and CIA officers need not adhere to the laws of warfare that have governed Western and American war-making since before this country's founding. The memo declared that the Geneva Conventions did not apply to captured terror suspects but that all prisoners would be treated humanely unless “military necessity” required otherwise. This gaping “military necessity” loophole—formally opposed in a memo by the member of your Cabinet with the most military ex-

perience, Secretary of State Colin Powell—was the beginning of America's descent into the ranks of countries that systematically torture prisoners. You insisted that prisoners be treated humanely whenever possible, but wars with legal loopholes for abuse and torture always quickly degenerate.

In its full consequences, that memo, even if issued in good faith, has done more damage to the reputation of the United States than anything since Vietnam. The tolerance of torture and abuse has recruited more terrorists than any al-Qaeda video, and has devastated morale and support at home. Your successor remains profoundly constrained even now by this legacy—compelled to prevent the release of more photographic evidence of war crimes under your command because of the damage it could still do to American soldiers in the field.

No, terror suspects did not deserve full prisoner-of-war status. That argument was always a red herring. Full POW rights—regular meals, exercise, and the rest—were not applicable to stateless terror suspects who themselves had no uniform or adherence to Geneva. You were right to see that as inappropriate, if not offensive. But what these suspects did deserve—simply because they are human beings—was protection from inhuman, degrading, abusive treatment or the infliction of “severe mental or physical pain or suffering” in order to procure information. This is what Geneva's Article 3 says: whatever the nature of the combatant, in or out of uniform, and whatever his own moral rules (or lack of them), he deserves basic respect as a human being with human rights. This principle is nonnegotiable. It is the core principle of Western civilization. Resistance to the physical force of government, especially as that force is applied to

MORE ONLINE

Andrew Sullivan
talks about the
politics of torture:
www.theatlantic.com/gwbush
THEATLANTIC.COM

**THE BELIEF THAT WHEN
AMERICA TORTURES, THE
ACT IS SOMEHOW NOT
TORTURE, IS AS GREAT A
DISTORTION OF AMERICAN
EXCEPTIONALISM AS
JIHADISM IS OF ISLAM.**



people in custody, is the core reason America exists as an independent nation.

I believe that if you review the facts of your two terms of office, you will be forced to realize that, whatever your intentions, you undermined this fundamental American principle. You may not have intended that to occur. But you were the commander in chief and president, and these were presidential-level decisions. The responsibility for all of this is yours—before the American people and before the court of history. And you need finally to own these decisions, to take full responsibility for them, to account for them, to explain them, and, yes, to apologize for their scope and brutality.

THIS WAS NEVER ABOUT “bad apples.” It is no longer even faintly plausible to argue that the mounds of identical documented abuses across every theater of combat in the war as it was conducted after January 2002 were a function of a handful of reservists improvising sadism on one night shift in one prison. The International Committee of the Red Cross, the Senate Armed Services Committee, dozens of reputable well-sourced news stories and well-documented books, and the many official reports on the subject have revealed a systematic pattern of prisoner mistreatment in every theater of combat, by almost all branches of the armed services, and in every major detention facility in Iraq where interrogation took place. (Revealingly, there were very few abuses in what the Red Cross calls “regular internment facilities” in Iraq—meaning those where interrogation was not taking place.)

The Senate’s own unanimous bipartisan report, signed by your party’s 2008 nominee, John McCain, proves exhaustively that the abuse and torture documented in U.S. prisons were the results of policies you chose. The International Red Cross found your administration guilty of treating prisoners in a manner that constituted torture, a war crime. Experts in the history of torture, such as the Reed College professor Darius Rejali, make very careful distinctions between the disparate acts of torture or abuse that take place in all wars and a bureaucratized top-down policy, whereby identical techniques are replicated across the globe in different services and under different commands, with some on-the-ground improvisation as well. The history of prisoner mistreatment

under your command fits the second pattern, not the first.

The techniques these various sources describe are not comic-book sadism; they are not the gruesome medieval tortures of Saddam. In fact, they are coolly modern tortures, designed to leave no physical marks that could be proffered as evidence against the regimes that use them. They have been used by democracies that want to get what they believe are the fruits of torture while avoiding all physical evidence of it. As the slogan in Iraq’s Camp Nama put it, “No blood, no foul.” But torture is not defined in law or morality by the production of blood or by any specific technique—that would simply invite governments to devise techniques other than those prohibited. Torture is defined by the imposition of “severe mental or physical pain or suffering” to the point when a human being can bear it no longer and tells his interrogators something—true or untrue—to stop what cannot be endured. That’s *torture*, in plain English. It was the clear goal of the policy you set in motion—and implemented with great determination across the world in ships and secret sites, at Guantánamo Bay and Bagram in Afghanistan, throughout interrogation centers in Iraq.

At the same time, though, you expressed what seemed to me to be genuine public revulsion at the techniques you authorized. On June 26, 2003, the UN International Day in Support of Victims of Torture, you stated:

I call on all governments to join with the United States and the community of law-abiding nations in prohibiting, investigating, and prosecuting all acts of torture and in undertaking to prevent other cruel and unusual punishment. I call on all nations to speak out against torture in all its forms and to make ending torture an essential part of their diplomacy.

You did not parse torture narrowly here. You were opposed to it in “all its forms.” You also called for barring “other cruel and unusual punishment.” When four U.S. soldiers were captured early in the Iraq conflict, you stated:

I expect them to be treated, the POWs, I expect to be treated humanely, just like we’re treating the prisoners that we have captured humanely. If not, the people who mistreat the prisoners will be treated as war criminals.

In 2004, after the revelations of Abu Ghraib, you told al-Hurra, the U.S.-sponsored Arabic television station, "This is not America. America is a country of justice and law and freedom and treating people with respect." You went on to say: "The people of Iraq must understand that I view those practices as abhorrent."

THEN HOW COULD you have authorized them? Maybe it was unclear to you at the time that most of the gruesome photographs from Abu Ghraib depicted techniques that you and your defense secretary authorized. This is an explanation in some ways, even if it is not an excuse. Photos can jar us into recognition of reality when words fail. Most of us hearing of "stress positions" or "long-time standing" or "harsh techniques" do not visualize what these actually are. They sound mild enough in the absence of further inquiry. Those photographs did us all a terrible favor in that respect: they removed any claim of deniability as to what these techniques mean. And yet you responded to Abu Ghraib by extending the techniques revealed there and codifying them in law, in the Military Commissions Act, for use by the CIA. Your administration ordered up memos in your second term to perpetuate these abuses. It is hard to escape the conclusion that you were dissembling in your initial claim of abhorrence and shock; or were in denial; or were not in control of your own administration.

I don't believe you were lying. I believe you were genuinely horrified. But that means you now need to confront the denial that allowed you somehow to ignore what you directly authorized and commanded: using dogs to terrorize prisoners; stripping detainees naked and hooding them; isolating people in windowless cells for weeks and even months on end; freezing prisoners to near-death and reviving them and repeating the hypothermia; contorting prisoners into stress positions that create unbearable pain in the muscles and joints; cramming prisoners into upright coffins in painful positions with minimal air; near-drowning, on a waterboard, of human beings—in one case 183 times—even after they have cooperated with interrogators. Those Abu Ghraib prisoners standing on boxes, bent over with their cuffed hands tied behind them to prison bars? You authorized that. The prisoner being led around by Lynndie England on a leash, like a dog? You authorized that, too, and enforced it in at least one case, that of Mohammed al-Qahtani, in Guantánamo Bay.

In defending these policies since you left office, you have insisted that all of these techniques were legal. But one of the key lawyers who provided your legal defense, John Yoo, is on record as saying that your inherent executive power allowed you to order the legal crushing of an innocent child's testicles if you believed that it could get intelligence out of his father. Yoo also favored a definition of torture that allowed literally anything to be done to a helpless prisoner short of causing death or the permanent loss of a major organ. The Geneva Conventions and the UN Convention Against Torture offer blanket legal bans on anything that even looks like torture. Yoo set up a mirror image: a blanket legal permission to do anything abusive to a prisoner, hedged only by the need not to kill him. If that is your defense of the legality of torture, it is a profoundly weak one.

But leave the question of legality aside. Skilled lawyers can argue anything. Examine the moral and ethical question. Could any moral person who saw the abuse of human beings at Abu Ghraib, Bagram, Camp Cropper, Camp Nama, and uncounted black sites across the globe and at sea believe it was in compliance with America's "respect" and "law and freedom"? As president, your job was not to delegate moral responsibility for these acts, but to take moral responsibility for them. You said a decade ago: "Once you put your hand on the Bible and swear in [to public office], you must set a high standard and be responsible for your own actions."

The point of this letter, Mr. President, is to beg you to finally take responsibility for this stain on American honor and this burden on a war we must win. It is to plead with you to own what happened under your command, and to reject categorically the phony legalisms, criminal destruction of crucial evidence, and retrospective rationalizations used to pretend that none of this happened. It happened. You once said, "I'm worried about a culture that says ... 'If you've got a problem ... blame somebody else.'" I am asking you to stop blaming others for the consequences of decisions you made.

WHAT ARE YOU responsible for, exactly? Books have been written on this. But let's take just three of the more bland-sounding techniques you authorized and extended and defended: "sleep deprivation" and "stress positions" and "temperature extremes." As words and phrases, they can seem quite banal, and I can understand how you could have authorized techniques that sound like things most college sophomores or law clerks regularly endure. But in practice, they are brutal treatments designed to break the will and wash the brain of anyone subjected to them for a lengthy period.

Sleep deprivation was pioneered by the Inquisition; not only does it produce hallucinations, which were useful for proving heresy, but it also increases physical sensitivity. As Darius Rejali, the historian of torture, has noted, it "reduces a body's tolerance for musculoskeletal pain, causing deep aches first in the lower part of the body, followed by similar pains in the upper body." The combination of sleep deprivation and stress positions leads to unbearable mental and physical suffering. It was used by the Gestapo, by Franco's security services, and even in the early part of the 20th century by American police. Use of sleep deprivation to procure confessions in domestic law enforcement was actually barred by the Supreme Court in 1944 (*Ashcraft v. Tennessee*) after a suspect was kept awake for 36 hours. The Court compared his treatment to the "physical or mental torture" used by "certain foreign nations." And yet you, Mr. President, more than a half-century later, authorized subjecting prisoners to this technique for up to 72 hours, or 40 hours if combined with standing in handcuff restraints. In 2002, troops in Afghanistan coined the term *monstering* to describe one interrogator's war against a prisoner's desperate need for sleep.

We know of one very detailed log of such treatment, which was one of the most common forms of "enhanced

interrogation” in the first years of “the program.” Mohammed al-Qahtani was kept awake for 20 hours a day for 48 of 54 consecutive days in Guantánamo Bay. That’s not the 36 hours considered the equivalent of torture by the U.S. Supreme Court; that’s 960 hours when you add them all up. This deprivation is not easily achieved. To keep someone who is this tired from falling asleep requires constant physical intervention. It means blasting loud music continuously in a cell; it means forcing an individual to stand up, and beating or poking him if he falls or tries to rest; it means constant light and sound; and it can lead quite quickly to medical problems and mental deterioration. During Qahtani’s interrogations, his refusal to drink and many days of sleep deprivation brought his heart-beat down to dangerously low levels; but even after he was urgently hospitalized for a day for dehydration to prevent his death, sleep deprivation continued—and was continuously used even as he physically deteriorated. An early FBI review of the interrogation of Qahtani found that the cumulative treatment led him to exhibit “behavior consistent with extreme psychological trauma (talking to non-existent people, reportedly hearing voices, crouching in a corner of the cell covered with a sheet for hours on end).” If you believe “extreme psychological trauma” is the same as “severe mental suffering,” then you ordered the prolonged and brutal torture of Mohammed al-Qahtani.

That was indeed the conclusion of your appointee to determine the legal status of Guantánamo detainees, Susan Crawford, who simply stated in dismissing all charges against Qahtani: “His treatment met the legal definition of torture.” Former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who was subjected to sleep deprivation in one of Stalin’s gulags, would have agreed with her assessment of the gravity of the primary torture technique. As Begin once wrote: “Anyone who has experienced this desire knows that not even hunger and thirst are comparable with it.”

The British used sleep deprivation against IRA terror suspects in the 1970s. The European Court of Human Rights ruled that although this use of sleep deprivation did not rise to torture, it nonetheless constituted illegal “inhuman and degrading treatment,” in breach of the European Convention on Human Rights. The reason it did not automatically qualify as torture depended on the longevity of the sleep deprivation.



MR. PRESIDENT, IF YOU HEARD OF A CITIZEN OF IRAN BEING TREATED THIS WAY BY THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT, WHAT WOULD YOU CALL IT?

to apply. An *Esquire* reporter and a Human Rights Watch investigator debriefed a trained interrogator, who had gone to Nama specifically to participate in the program, and gave him the pseudonym “Jeff”:

They could keep a prisoner on his feet for 20 hours, and although the rules required them to allow each prisoner four hours of sleep every twenty-four hours, nowhere did it say those four hours had to be consecutive—so sometimes they’d wake the prisoners up every half hour. Eventually they’d just collapse. “This was a very demanding method for the interrogators as well, because it required a lot of staff to monitor the prisoner, and we’d have to stay awake, too,” Jeff says. “And it’s just impossible to interrogate someone when he’s in that state, collapsed on the ground. It doesn’t make any sense.”

Qahtani was also stripped naked. This technique, which you authorized, was used by Americans in every theater of war. The nudity, again, does not sound that awful on the face of it. Western men are used to showering together in gyms and schools. But in the cultural context of extremely devout and modest Muslim men, being forced to stand naked in front of each other and especially in front of women is dehumanizing and humiliating. And it was designed to be. Crafting techniques to exploit Muslim cultural attitudes or phobias was widespread (the use of dogs fit this role as well), and involved unethical use of psychologists and doctors. Much

But 48 days and nights with no more than four hours’ sleep every 24, combined with stress positions, hypothermia, and forced nudity, push these nuances over a line any decent person would acknowledge. Sleep deprivation alone has been shown to cause psychosis, disorientation, depression, and near-madness. The idea that these techniques, which were once used to procure false confessions of witchcraft or heresy, can actually generate actionable and accurate and detailed intelligence is, to say the least, implausible.

But Qahtani was not the only prisoner subjected to sleep deprivation; hundreds and perhaps thousands of others were too. Qahtani was a high-value prisoner; most others weren’t. Qahtani was under constant medical monitoring; most others were not. Here’s a firsthand account of a sleep-deprivation regimen used at the notorious Camp Nama in Iraq, a war zone where the Geneva Conventions were always supposed

of the sexual abuse at Abu Ghraib was not standard operating procedure. But using Muslim prisoners' sexual phobias, taboos, and religious prohibitions against them was common. Whether smearing fake menstrual blood on a prisoner's face, or having a woman like Lynndie England mock the exposed genitals of a terrified prisoner, sexual humiliations were not violations of the techniques you authorized. They were the techniques you authorized. And they depended for their effectiveness on the specific religious and cultural beliefs of Muslims. So to wage a war designed to expose the evil of the Taliban's religious intolerance, we deliberately manipulated Islam into a means of abuse. In a war designed to prove that the West was not Islam's enemy, we used Islam and Muslim culture as tools to break down the psyches of prisoners suspected of terrorism. To save religious freedom, we abused it.

The forced nudity also sharpened the edges of temperature extremes, another ancient form of torture that appeals to governments that want to torture but also to leave no physical scars, welts, or bruises. The Gestapo used what it called the "cold bath," in which interrogators would take a prisoner's body to a dangerously low temperature in an ice-filled tub, then remove and revive the suspect, and then subject him to freezing again. This was what happened to Qahtani at Guantánamo Bay—he was kept doused in water in a room air-conditioned to chill him until he was near-blue—but the technique crops up again and again across the theaters of war. In 2005, you authorized the CIA to use the "cold cell" technique, in which a prisoner was kept in a cell at 50 degrees and constantly covered with cold water. This was not an emergency measure for gathering information that could be used to prevent an imminent mass-casualty attack. It was a formal policy, to be integrated into the American way of warfare and human rights.

Once you established the legitimacy of freezing prisoners, captors inevitably improvised. An Army interrogator, Tony Lagouranis, described the technique as it evolved in Iraq and Afghanistan:

We used hypothermia a lot. It was very cold up in Mosul at that time, so we—it was also raining a lot—so we would keep the prisoner outside, and they would have a polyester jumpsuit on and they would be wet and cold, and freezing. But we weren't inducing hypothermia with ice water like the [Navy] SEALs were. But, you know, maybe the SEALs were doing it better than we were, because they were actually even controlling it with the [rectal] thermometer, but we weren't doing that.

Lagouranis did not witness the Navy SEALs' technique himself. But the maintenance of cold cells at Gitmo, and elsewhere, shows how high up the authorization went.

Some of the torture was covered up. Among the death certificates issued for prisoners who died while being held for interrogation at Abu Ghraib, one cited by Dr. Steven Miles claimed a 63-year-old prisoner had died of "cardiovascular disease and a buildup of fluid around his heart." But Miles noted that the certificate failed to mention that the old man had been stripped naked, continually soaked in cold water, and kept outside in 40-degree cold for three days before cardiac arrest.

Here is a report, again from Camp Nama, where the ultimate commander was Lieutenant General Stanley McChrystal, now the U.S. commander of forces in Afghanistan:

[One prisoner] was stripped naked, put in the mud and sprayed with the hose, with very cold hoses, in February. At night it was very cold. They sprayed the cold hose and he was completely naked in the mud, you know, and everything. [Then] he was taken out of the mud and put next to an air conditioner. It was extremely cold, freezing, and he was put back in the mud and sprayed. This happened all night. Everybody knew about it. People walked in, the sergeant major and so forth, everybody knew what was going on, and I was just one of them, kind of walking back and forth seeing [that] this is how they do things.

Extreme cold was complemented with extreme heat. Here is firsthand testimony from an FBI officer who visited Guantánamo Bay in its early days, before the FBI washed its hands of what was happening there:

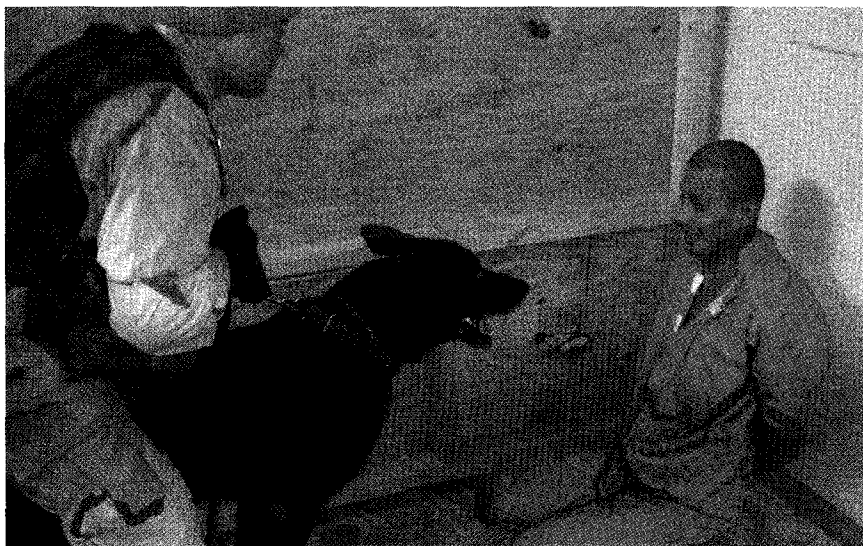
On a couple of occasions, I entered interview rooms to find a detainee chained hand and foot in a fetal position to the floor, with no chair, food, or water. Most times they urinated or defecated on themselves, and had been left there for 18–24 hours or more ... On another occasion, the [air conditioner] had been turned off, making the temperature in the unventilated room well over 100 degrees. The detainee was almost unconscious on the floor, with a pile of hair next to him. He had apparently been literally pulling his hair out throughout the night. On another occasion, not only was the temperature unbearably hot, but extremely loud rap music was being played in the room, and had been since the day before, with the detainee chained hand and foot in the fetal position on the tile floor.

"Stress positions" can also sound relatively banal. When your first defense secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, approved their use, including "long-time standing," he wryly wrote on the memo: "However, I stand for 8–10 hours a day. Why is standing limited to four hours?" The answer is that the prisoner is usually shackled to a bolt in the floor with his hands cuffed behind him. Any attempt to rest or sit down is prevented by beating or prodding. Other stress positions include being forced to stand on a box, with your hands cuffed and attached to a bar behind you; or being forced to kneel with cuffed hands behind your back; or forced to lean on a wall by your fingertips, with feet shackled to the ground, so that supporting your weight eventually becomes an unbearable strain. The same applies to many of the positions we saw in the Abu Ghraib photos, where the body's weight rests on one or two muscle groups that quickly become exhausted, creating great pain over long periods of time.

Darius Rejali notes that long-time standing, for example, causes "the ankles and feet to swell to twice their size within twenty-four hours. Moving becomes agonizing and large blisters develop. The heart rate increases, and some people faint. The kidneys eventually shut down." The photographs at Abu Ghraib show a variety of the positions that you authorized, Mr. President—hooded humans forced to balance on boxes, with their arms outstretched or tied to bars behind their back.

The one recorded death at Abu Ghraib was caused by just such a stress position enhanced by beating. This kind

**IT MAY WELL BE THAT
YOU ONLY SUBSEQUENTLY
GRASPED THE FULL IMPORT
OF THE ACTIONS THAT
YOU TOOK IN GOOD FAITH;
THAT YOU WERE
MISLED ABOUT, OR
MISUNDERSTOOD, WHAT
“HARSH INTERROGATION”
MEANT.**



of strain on the muscles and joints was what John McCain endured. He has never argued that it didn't constitute a violation of the Geneva Conventions. Do you, Mr. President? In your endorsement speech for McCain broadcast at the 2008 Republican Convention, in St. Paul, you referred merely to the “beatings and isolation” he endured. You did not mean, did you, that if America treated prisoners the way the Vietnamese had treated McCain, you would regard it, as your vice president has stated he regards it, as “in accordance with our constitutional practices and principles”? And if you did not believe the false confession McCain was forced to sign after enduring this mistreatment, why did you believe similar tales told by human beings under similar duress under your command—and tout them as evidence of success in the war?

I want to mention one other human being, an American, Jose Padilla. I do not doubt that Padilla had been a troubled youth and had disturbing and dangerous contacts with radical Islamists. You were right to detain him. But what was then done to him—after a charge (subsequently dropped) that he was intent on detonating a nuclear or “dirty” bomb in an American city—remains a matter of grave concern. This was a U.S. citizen, seized on American soil at O'Hare Airport and imprisoned for years without a day in court. He was sequestered in a brig and, his lawyers argued,

was tortured for nearly the entire three years and eight months of his unlawful detention. The torture took myriad forms, each designed to cause pain, anguish, depression and, ultimately, the loss of will to live. The base ingredient in Mr. Padilla's torture was stark isolation for a substantial portion of his captivity.

Among the techniques allegedly used on American soil against this American citizen were isolation (sometimes for weeks on end) for a total of 1,307 days in a nine-by-seven-foot cell, sleep deprivation effected by lights and loud music and noise, and sensory deprivation. He was goggled and ear-muffled to maintain a total lack of spatial orientation, even when being treated for a tooth problem. He lost track of days and nights and lived for years in a twilight zone of pain and fear. His lawyer Andrew Patel explained:

Mr. Padilla was often put in stress positions for hours at a time. He would be shackled and manacled, with a belly chain, for hours in his cell. Noxious fumes would be introduced to his room causing his eyes and nose to run. The temperature of his cell would be manipulated, making his cell extremely cold for long stretches of time. Mr. Padilla was denied even the smallest, and most personal shreds of human dignity by being deprived of showering for weeks at a time, yet having to endure forced grooming at the whim of his captors ...

After four years in U.S. custody, Padilla was reduced to a physical and mental shell of a human being. Here is Patel's description of how Padilla appeared in his pretrial meetings:

During questioning, he often exhibits facial tics, unusual eye movements and contortions of his body. The contortions are particularly poignant since he is usually manacled and bound by a belly chain when he has meetings with counsel.

Mr. President, if you heard of a citizen of Iran being treated this way by the Iranian government, what would you call it?

You argue that you authorized these dehumanizing and cruel policies because you were determined to protect the nation from another terror attack. This is a claim impossible for those of us without security clearances to judge. Many have questioned it. No one has argued that such policies prevented any catastrophic attack with weapons of mass destruction, the original justification for the extraordinary use of torture by a country dedicated to human rights and the rule of law. And we have no way to determine whether any information gleaned by these sessions could have been procured through traditional and legal American interrogation methods. Nor do we know how many false trails from false confessions wasted time and resources. We do know that crucial evidence Colin Powell used at the UN to link Saddam and al-Qaeda came from a tortured suspect who later recanted. We also know that hundreds of prisoners at Guantánamo Bay were released by your administration because they had no intelligence value and had been detained by mistake. We know that a study of 132 prisoners at Gitmo conducted by *National Journal* found that more than half were not even accused of terrorism against the United States,

and only eight were accused of terror attacks outside Afghanistan. The majority of the prisoners had been captured outside the field of battle, mostly by Pakistani authorities in Pakistan. If this snapshot of those detained is in any way similar to the broader picture, the abuse and torture of so many people only distantly related to the war against America undoubtedly generated many more recruits and increased the danger to the West.

YOU HAVE ALSO CLAIMED that defending the security of the United States was the paramount requirement of your oath of office. It wasn't. The oath you took makes a critical distinction: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." It is the Constitution you were sworn to defend, not the country. To abandon the Constitution to save the country from jihadist terrorists was not your job. Yes, of course your role as commander in chief required you to take national security extremely seriously, but not at the expense of your core duty to protect the Constitution and to sincerely respect—not opportunistically exploit—the rule of law.

And the core value of the Constitution, and of your own rhetorical record, is freedom. Some civil liberties may need to be curtailed somewhat in a new kind of war; almost no one, apart from doctrinaire libertarians, would disagree. Most people are prepared to compromise, as long as checks and balances are in place to keep government accountable. But the deployment of torture and abuse of prisoners is not within this framework. It is not so much an infringement of freedom, as the obliteration of freedom. Western freedom begins with the right to protect one's own body from government power. That's what habeas corpus means. What was done to Jose Padilla makes a mockery of that freedom and, in fact, establishes a precedent that, if left in place, could destroy it. Because the war you declared has no geographic boundaries and no time limit, the power of the executive to detain and torture without bringing charges—the power you introduced—is not just a war power. Because the war on terror is for all practical purposes permanent, the executive power to torture is a constitutional power that will become entrenched during peacetime.

When a human being is tortured, his body and mind are used as weapons to destroy his agency and will. The point of torture is to render a suspect helpless in the face of government power, to make him a vessel for whatever the government wants from him. It is the polar opposite of Western freedom—not a threat to freedom or an infringement of it, but its nemesis. If liberty is white, torture is black. No society has remained free that has allowed its government to torture human beings. And no previous American president has imported the tools of torture into the very heart of the American system of government as you did. Every dissident in every foul tyranny on Earth, imprisoned and tortured by men and women far less scrupulous than you, now knows something he or she never knew before your presidency: America tortures too. What this will do to the march of freedom you believe in is yet unknown. But my view is that by

condoning torture, by allowing it to take place, and by your vice president's continuing defense and championing of torture as compatible with American traditions, you have done enormous damage to America's role as a beacon of freedom and to the rule of law.

Maybe you do not see the gravity of the precedent as I do. But I became a conservative a long time ago in part because of the torture record of the Soviet Union and what I saw as the failure of the left to confront it aggressively enough. I supported the Iraq War in part because I despise torture and felt that, whatever else happened, shutting down Saddam's torture chambers could never be a bad thing. But to have believed all this—sincerely, genuinely, deep in my heart and soul—and then to see America, the America I love and have made my home, actually become a country that secretly tortured and dehumanized and abused people has been a wrenching and transformative experience. I hope you can at least understand my concern and anger. I believe that deep down, you do understand, or else I would not even attempt such an appeal to you. But that is also why a public accounting of what you did, what you understood you were doing, and what you now know and feel, is so important.

THE OTHER VALUE you have eloquently expressed as essential to your public life is faith. We share that faith, although I am a wayward Catholic and you a born-again evangelical. Our faith tells us that what you authorized is an absolute evil. By *absolute evil*, I mean something that is never morally justified. I have no doubt that you believed you were doing your duty in protecting the country, and every political leader in a dangerous world has to make decisions that haunt the conscience. But even war, with all its murder and mayhem and abuse and trauma, can still, in our Christian tradition, be deemed just, under certain circumstances. I am not a pacifist by any means. Defending free countries from the architects of 9/11 is just; bringing some semblance of democracy to Iraq was just; unseating the Taliban was just. Even those decisions that cost lives—of young Americans and countless Iraqis and Afghans—can be morally defended by Christians, in good faith and clear conscience, as a last resort. In fact, fighting terrorism and jihadism is, in my view, an eminently just use of military power, if that use of power is constantly subjected to scrutiny and reflection and revision.

But torture has no defense whatsoever in Christian morality. There are no circumstances in which it can be justified, let alone integrated as a formal program within a democratic government. The Catholic catechism states, "Torture which uses physical or moral violence to extract confessions ... is contrary to respect for the person and for human dignity." *Dignity* is the critical word there. Even evil men are human and redeemable. Our faith demands that, even in legitimate punishment or interrogation, the dignity of prisoners must be respected. Our faith teaches that each of us—even Khalid Sheikh Mohammed—is made in the image of God. To violate that *imago Dei* by stripping and freezing him, by slamming him against a wall, or strapping him to a board to nearly

drown him again and again and again, to bombard him with noise and light until he loses his mind, to reduce a human being to a mental and spiritual shell—nothing can justify this for a Christian. Nothing. To wield that power is to wield evil. And such evil is almost always committed by those who believe they are pursuing good.

America is exceptional not because it banished evil, not because Americans are somehow more moral than anyone else, not because its founding somehow changed human nature—but because it recognized the indelibility of human nature and our permanent capacity for evil. It set up a rule of law to guard against such evil. It pitted branches of government against each other and enshrined a free press so that evil could be flushed out and countered even when perpetrated by good men. The belief that when America tortures, the act is somehow not torture, or that when Americans torture, they are somehow immune from its moral and spiritual cancer, is not an American belief. It is as great a distortion of American exceptionalism as jihadism is of Islam. To believe that because the American government is better than Saddam and the Taliban and al-Qaeda, Americans are somehow immune to the same temptations of power that all flesh is heir to, is itself a deep and dangerous temptation. The power to torture is a case in point. Because torture can coerce truth, break a human being's dignity, treat him as an expendable means rather than as a fragile end, it has a terrible power to corrupt. Torture is the ultimate expression of the absolute power of one individual over another; it destroys the souls of those who torture just as surely as it eviscerates the dignity of those who are its victims. And because torture is so awful, it also often requires a defensive embrace of it, a pride in it, an exaggeration of its successes. And those so-called successes invariably lead to more torture until we end up with the record of wanton and systematic abuse that occurred under your command.

I think you know this. You have rarely failed to describe absolute evil when you've seen it. You are not known for Clintonian parsings of moral truths. I think you understand also because you are a man of faith. And I think this faith should guide you to a reconciliation with the truth of the past, a reconciliation that this divided country needs, and that your successor and the men and women he commands deserve.

Over the past few years, I have gone from desperately trying to find out and expose this systematic abuse, to expressing enormous anger, to hoping for criminal prosecution of all the major figures. Now I feel profound discomfort with all the options in front of us. To ignore the flagrant evidence of war crimes, reported by the Red Cross, is itself a violation of America's treaty obligations. And yet to prosecute only those lower down the chain of command is pure scapegoating. Your own former CIA officers and service members do not deserve to take the fall for the policies they were told were legal and authorized by their commander in chief. And yet to initiate prosecution of those ultimately responsible for this pattern of criminality and abuse—namely you, your vice president, your defense secretary, and all those involved in constructing the torture program—would also tear this already polarized society apart at a time when we are still at war. There is a reason the Obama administration has remained almost

GALLERY USPQR by Istvan Banyai



ist-one

paralyzed in the face of this inheritance. Every option is awful; and yet, some action is necessary.

Only you can do what's needed. Only you can move this country forward by taking full responsibility for the past and supporting the current president in his abolition of torture and abuse and in his conduct of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The decisions you made were complex; it may well be that you only subsequently grasped the full import of the actions you took in good faith; that you were misled about, or misunderstood, what "harsh interrogation" meant. All presidents are human, and taking responsibility does not mean self-flagellation.

The model is Ronald Reagan, who denied he had ever traded arms for hostages in Iran but eventually realized that that was indeed the consequence of the actions he took, the men he appointed, and the policy he pursued. Reagan's speech to the nation on this matter was, in my view, his greatest, because it revealed humility and integrity. "First, let me say," he told us in 1987,

I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my administration. As angry as I may be about activities undertaken without my knowledge, I am still accountable for those activities. As disappointed as I may be in some who served me, I'm still the one who must answer to the American people for this behavior ... A few months ago I told the American people I did not trade arms for hostages. My heart and my best intentions still tell me that's true, but the facts and the evidence tell me it is not.

If you read the Red Cross report and the Senate Armed Services Committee report, I believe you will reach a similar conclusion about your own record on prisoner treatment. You may not have intended to torture people, but you did; you may have wanted to protect the country within the law, but that admirable desire too easily slid into your approval of actions that are indefensible, illegal, and deeply damaging to America's reputation and honor. You were let down, as Reagan was. He took responsibility. You need to as well.

Demanding that you alone be held accountable and no one else be scapegoated would itself be an act of honor. It would draw a line between the past and the future in the same way that Lincoln's defense of his brief suspensions of habeas corpus conceded Congress's sole right to remove this core constitutional provision, but defended his action as a necessary emergency measure because a mass rebellion "had subverted the whole of the laws." You do not deserve to go down in history as the president who brought torture into the American system and refused to take responsibility for it. It is also vital that torture not become a partisan issue, that any future terror attack not become an opportunity for your party to reinstitute it or wield it as a political weapon against future presidents who are following the rule of law. After the next attack, America will need unity—not a poisonous division over the issue of torture. You had that unity after 9/11. Your successors deserve the same support.

Demand, as Reagan did, a full accounting and report from an independent body. Explain your evolving views. Defend your honor and your family's long record of public service. Blame no one else. Explain why you felt you had no choice

or why you did not fully understand the brutality of the methods you approved. The impact this would have on the world—the example of a democratic society confronting its own crimes, led by the man who authorized them—would itself help restore this country's reputation. And yours. It would unite rather than divide.

In all this, think of the troops, the hundreds of thousands of honorable men and women, doing enormously difficult jobs in dangerous places, risking their lives to bring human rights to countries where they've never existed. They deserve to have this taint lifted from their uniform. And only you can lift it, by assuming responsibility for everything. I recall one such soldier, a young man in Iraq, Captain Ian Fishback, who witnessed routine abuse of prisoners and tried to get his commanders to stop it. They didn't. He tried to get the attention of his superiors, up to the secretary of the Army. He failed. After 17 months of effort, he finally wrote a letter to John McCain. This is part of what he wrote:

Despite my efforts, I have been unable to get clear, consistent answers from my leadership about what constitutes lawful and humane treatment of detainees. I am certain that this confusion contributed to a wide range of abuses including death threats, beatings, broken bones, murder, exposure to elements, extreme forced physical exertion, hostage-taking, stripping, sleep deprivation and degrading treatment. I and troops under my command witnessed some of these abuses in both Afghanistan and Iraq. This is a tragedy. I can remember, as a cadet at West Point, resolving to ensure that my men would never commit a dishonorable act; that I would protect them from that type of burden. It absolutely breaks my heart that I have failed some of them in this regard. That is in the past and there is nothing we can do about it now. But, we can learn from our mistakes and ensure that this does not happen again.

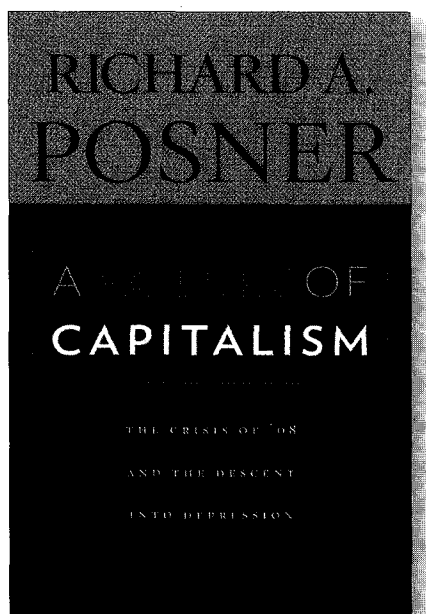
Captain Fishback then focused on what he called "the larger question, the most important question that this generation will answer":

Do we sacrifice our ideals in order to preserve security? Terrorism inspires fear and suppresses ideals like freedom and individual rights. Overcoming the fear posed by terrorist threats is a tremendous test of our courage. Will we confront danger and adversity in order to preserve our ideals, or will our courage and commitment to individual rights wither at the prospect of sacrifice? My response is simple. If we abandon our ideals in the face of adversity and aggression, then those ideals were never really in our possession. I would rather die fighting than give up even the smallest part of the idea that is "America."

Mr. President, what I am asking is that you exhibit the same candor, reflection, and honor as one of your own service members, a man still serving his country in a uniform he is still proud of, but a uniform that bears a stain of dishonor that only you can remove.

Mr. President, remove that stain, for your own sake as well as ours. You have one last charge to keep. ■

Andrew Sullivan, an Atlantic senior editor, blogs at andrewsullivan.theatlantic.com.



A FAILURE OF CAPITALISM

The Crisis of '08 and the Descent into Depression

Richard A. Posner

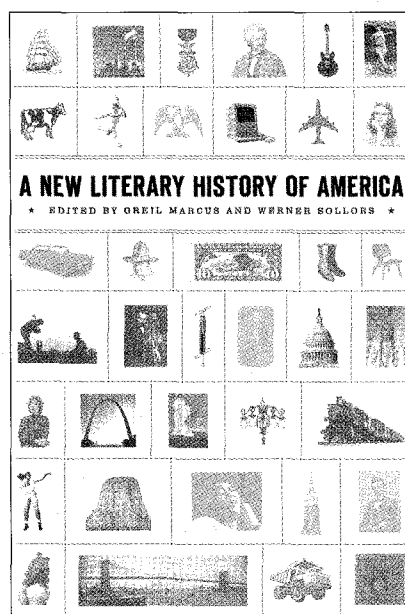
"Lively, readable, and plainspoken...Posner has an extraordinarily sharp mind."

—Robert M. Solow, *New York Review of Books*

"Before seeking political asylum in free-market Hong Kong, consider reading a new book that critiques what went wrong with capitalism, written in order to save it. Judge Richard Posner's *A Failure of Capitalism: The Crisis of '08 and the Descent into Depression* is noteworthy. As a longtime University of Chicago professor and father of the free-market-based law-and-economics movement, Judge Posner makes an unlikely critic of capitalism. But as author of some 40 books and as the most frequently cited federal appeals court jurist, he is also one of our most original and clearheaded thinkers."

—L. Gordon Crovitz, *Wall Street Journal*
new in cloth

Read an excerpt on our web site



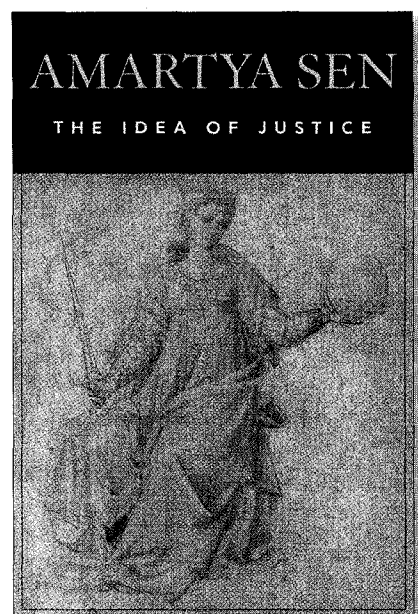
A NEW LITERARY HISTORY OF AMERICA

Edited by Greil Marcus and Werner Sollors

"The full national-literary character of the United States is on display in this mighty history and reference work for our time. Written by a distinguished team, under the sure-handed editorship of musicologist and historian Marcus and Sollors...this volume begins with America's first appearance on a map and concludes with the election of President Obama. Among the more than 200 contributors are Bharati Mukherjee (on *The Scarlet Letter*), Camille Paglia (on Tennessee Williams) and Ishmael Reed (on *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*)...This is an astounding achievement in multiculturalism and American studies, which in the age of Google and the Internet lights the way toward serious interpretive reference publishing."

—*Publishers Weekly* (Starred Review)

Belknap Press / new in cloth
Visit the book feature on our web site:
www.newliteraryhistory.com



THE IDEA OF JUSTICE

Amartya Sen

Social justice: an ideal, forever beyond our grasp; or one of many practical possibilities? More than a matter of intellectual discourse, the idea of justice plays a real role in how—and how well—people live. And in this book the distinguished scholar Amartya Sen offers a powerful critique of the theory of social justice that, in its grip on social and political thinking, has long left practical realities far behind. At the heart of Sen's argument is a respect for reasoned differences in our understanding of what a "just society" really is. People of different persuasions—for example, utilitarians, economic egalitarians, labor right theorists, no-nonsense libertarians—might each reasonably see a clear and straightforward resolution to questions of justice; and yet, these clear and straightforward resolutions would be completely different. In light of this, Sen argues for a comparative perspective on justice that can guide us in the choice between alternatives that we inevitably face.

Belknap Press / new in cloth



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

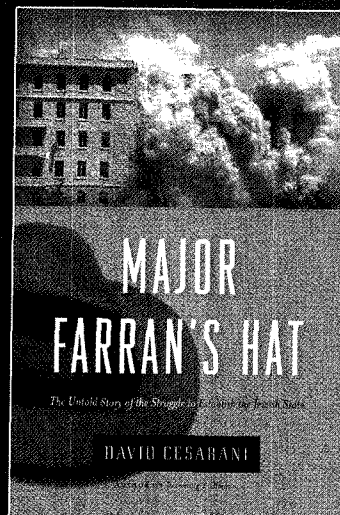
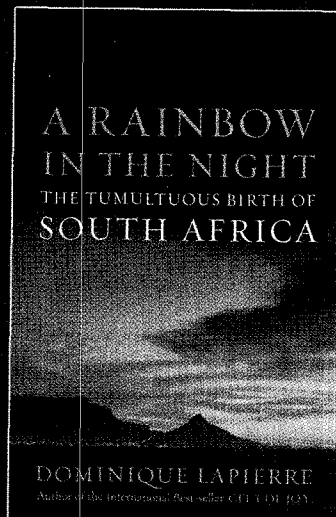
WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU

FACEBOOK | TWITTER | YOUTUBE
BLOG: HUPRESS.TYPEPAD.COM

New this fall from DA CAPO Press

Rainbow
the Night
e Tumultuous
of South Africa
E LAPIERRE

unt of South
story by the
author of the
al bestseller,
e City of Joy.



Major Farran's Hat

The Untold Story of the
Struggle to Establish the
Jewish State
DAVID CESARANI

A captivating account of
violence and political
expediency which casts
new light on the birth of
the State of Israel.



isbrode

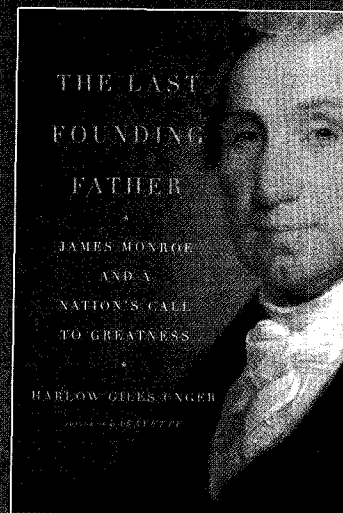


The Atlantic Century Four Generations of Extraordinary Diplomats Who Forged America's Vital Alliance with Europe KENNETH WEISBRODE

"Beautifully written and
thoroughly researched."
—Niall Ferguson, author of
The Ascent of Money

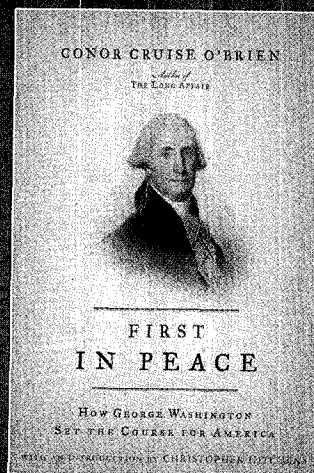
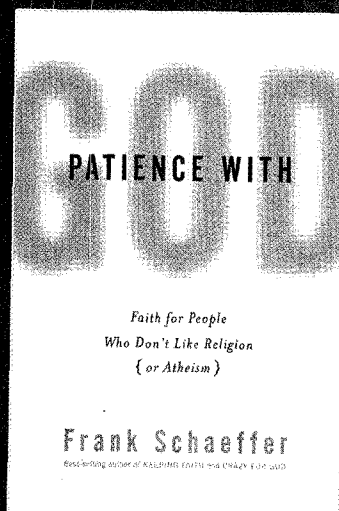
The Last Founding Father James Monroe and a Nation's Call to Greatness HARLOW GILES UNGER

A lively and compelling
biography of the
Revolutionary War
fighter who went on
to become America's
fifth president.



With God
le Who Don't
(or Atheism)
SCHAEFFER

d, witty, and
hallenge to
amentalists
ontroversial
azy for God.



First In Peace

How George Washington
Set the Course for America
CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

Introduction by
CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

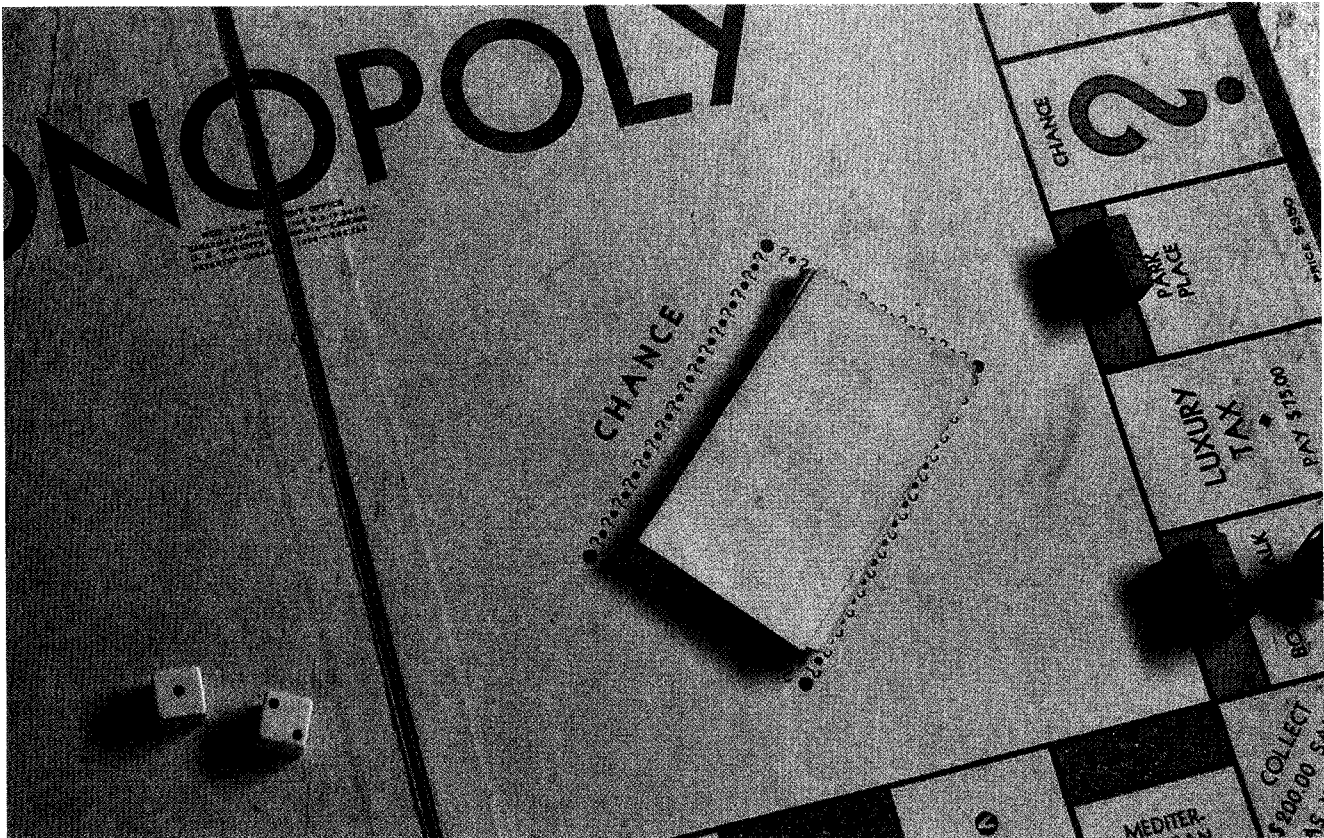
Conor Cruise O'Brien explores
the presidency of Washington
and how his conflict with
Jefferson determined the
future of America.

BOOKS

EDITOR'S CHOICE Benjamin Schwarz argues that the Depression destroyed dreams as much as wealth.

ESSAY Christopher Hitchens on why the undergraduate humor of Stewart and Colbert fails as satire

COVER TO COVER A. S. Byatt's latest; fear and loathing of the future; God is still dead; and more



EDITOR'S CHOICE

Life in (and After) Our Great Recession

DASHED HOPES, LESS SEX, EVEN MORE SISYPHEAN LABOR FOR WOMEN—WHAT THE HISTORIES OF THE DEPRESSION ERA TELL US ABOUT MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES IN CRISIS, BOTH THEN AND NOW

By Benjamin Schwarz

NOT TO BE faux-populist about it, but although such matters as the electoral turmoil in Iran, the Bernanke/Lewis he said/he said, and the bloating of the list of Oscar finalists (to take the week of June 21) constitute what Charlie Rose and his knowing ilk like to think of as the

national discussion, I suspect that an altogether different set of concerns haunts the commuter driving home, is fumbled over on the AYSO sidelines, and is the chief subject across kitchen tables after the kids are put to bed. As Americans confront what has been dubbed the worst economic catastrophe since the Great Depression, they may be forgiven for failing to linger over

soon-to-be-old current events, because they recognize that for the first time in their lives they're in the grip of history. They're anxious, even terrified, about what that may mean for their daily lives and dreams and—really the same question—for their children's lives and dreams.

Because this pervasive trepidation is unprecedented in their lifetime, most

GORDON J. MOORE

A BESTIARY OF DYSFUNCTION, SCANDAL AND SORDIDNESS

REPUBLICAN GOMORRAH

INSIDE THE MOVEMENT THAT
SHATTERED THE PARTY

MAX BLUMENTHAL

"An irresistible combination of anthropology and psychopathology that exerts the queasy fascination of (let's face it) something very like pornography." —HENDRIK HERTZBERG

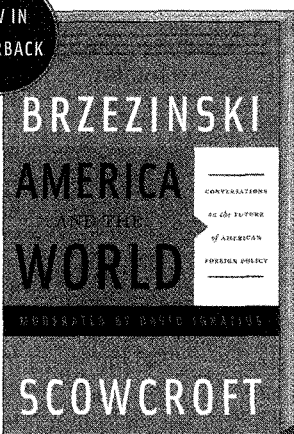
maxblumenthal.com



NATION BOOKS IS AN IMPRINT
OF THE PERSEUS BOOKS GROUP

AN ESSENTIAL FOREIGN POLICY PRIMER

NOW IN
PAPERBACK



"What makes these discussions...so bracing is their combination of common sense and an ability to place America's relationship with a particular country in both a historical perspective and a regional context of competing interests and threats. Their book should be required reading."

—MICHIO KAKUTANI, *The New York Times*



BASIC BOOKS IS AN IMPRINT
OF THE PERSEUS BOOKS GROUP

Americans have reflexively invoked the Depression in their efforts to comprehend their experience. Facile comparisons are offered up and then shot down, and for good reason. Yes, by nearly all measures the Great Depression—Herbert Hoover chose *Depression* because it didn't have the same ominous connotations as the terms for previous severe downturns, the now quaint-sounding *panic* and *crisis*—was incomparably worse than today's Great Recession, even if pessimists remind us that in the year following the 1929 crash, Wall Street enjoyed its own bear-market rally and, like President Obama today, Hoover and Roosevelt kept seeing green shoots when the rest of the country correctly saw bare ground.

But in some respects the mythology of the Depression is bleaker than the reality. For all the terrible unemployment figures and searing WPA images of Dustbowl migrants, the typical worker remained on the job, though he had most likely been forced to take a pay cut. In fact, despite the breadlines and the soup kitchens and the Bonus Army, the population emerged from the Depression healthier than ever, thanks largely to government aid and advances in the then-new science of nutrition; the recruits of the Second World War were in every way more fit than the recruits of the First. Any broad historical analogies Americans reach

for to make sense of the social, emotional, and quotidian experience of this current crisis will founder on the rocks of historical specificity. How, after all, can an economic crisis that was broadly defined by a tremendous number of unemployed industrial workers illuminate the social ramifications of our post-post-industrial crash, when the population is overwhelmingly middle-class and white-collar? For instance, the precipitous declines in home values and investment portfolios—realities that no doubt weigh

heavily on readers of this magazine—feature calamitously in both eras, but in the 1930s a far smaller portion of the population owned houses or equities than does now.

The experience of that small group, however, may prove to be similar to that of today's vast lower-upper-middle class and upper-middle class, to borrow Orwell's nicely granulated categories, and a clutch of books probes

the Depression experience from that group's point of view. Most of these books purport to examine a wide range of the population, but because the haute bourgeoisie—a set defined as much by sensibility and educational attainment as by wealth and income—produced testimony that is unusually extensive, compelling, self-aware, and articulate, and because the writers doing the examining no doubt come from the same class, the books end up focusing overwhelmingly on it.

The seminal book—really the starting point for the others—is Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd's *Middletown in Transition* (1937). The Lynds, husband-and-wife sociologists, had first descended on "Middletown"—the then-prosperous if stratified city of Muncie, Indiana—with their team of researchers in 1924, during the boom years. For the next 18 months, they dissected the everyday lives, habits, and attitudes of its inhabitants, concentrating on the middle classes. The

book that resulted, *Middletown* (1929), remains a classic of immersive sociology and the most incisive and complete portrait of American bourgeois life in the 1920s. Having taken this minute snapshot, Robert Lynd and a smaller team returned to Muncie 10 years later to see what had changed in the intervening period, which included the darkest years of the Depression. They interviewed the city's industrial barons, plant workers, and prostitutes; chatted up its teachers, prosecutors, and real-estate agents (although all sources were

SINCE YESTERDAY: THE 1930s IN AMERICA

By Frederick Lewis Allen

HARPER

THE INVISIBLE SCAR: THE GREAT DEPRESSION, AND WHAT IT DID TO AMERICAN LIFE, FROM THEN UNTIL NOW

By Caroline Bird

DAVID MCKAY

CHILDREN OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION: 25TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION

By Glen H. Elder Jr.

WESTVIEW

DAILY LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920-1940

By David E. Kyvig

IVAN R. DEE

THE GREATEST GENERATION GROWS UP: AMERICAN CHILD- HOOD IN THE 1930s

By Kriste Lindenmeyer

IVAN R. DEE

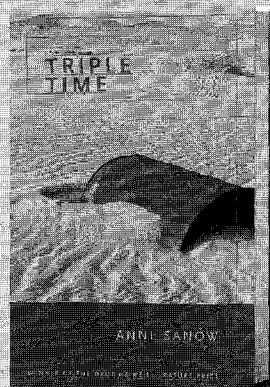
Can you afford **NO** 1
to take advantage
of this offer?
SAVE 71%



11 puros

Includes the
HAKHA

**WINNER OF THE 2009
DRUE HEINZ LITERATURE PRIZE**



TRIPLE TIME
BY ANNE SANOW

"This is the kind of manuscript that reminds me why writers are willing to judge contests: you hope that among the bad manuscripts and the good ones and the very good ones there will be one that is great. This book is great."

—ANN PATCHETT

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS
800-621-2736 www.upress.pitt.edu

800-972-5940 www.michaelcolca.com



MICHAEL COLCA
furniture maker

AFRICA • CHINA • INDIA • JAPAN • NEPAL • SRI LANKA • TAIWAN

Since 1989
**UPTON
TEA IMPORTS**
Purveyor of the World's Finest Teas

1-800-234-8327 Free catalog listing
www.uptontea.com over 350 varieties of
garden-fresh, loose tea

34A Hayden Rowe St. • Hopkinton, MA 01748

COLLECTOR SEEKS
OLD CHINESE & JAPANESE ANTIQUES
Porcelain, bronze, silver, jade, lacquer
and cloisonné. Discretion Assured.
COMPLETE COLLECTIONS PURCHASED
416.596.1396 | goldenc@inforamp.net

anonymous, this much of their identities can be gleaned); and pored over its newspaper files and tax rolls. Mostly, they seem to have gossiped, lingered over dinners, and played bridge with the members of a stratum that ran from the "less-secure business class" to the engineers and middle managers, the young married set, and the well-established doctors, lawyers, and executives in the lower-upper class. The fruit of their sojourn, *Middletown in Transition*, reveals, fact by fact, detail by detail, anecdote by anecdote, the "staggering, traumatic effect" of "the great knife of the depression," which "cut down impartially through the entire population, cleaving open the lives and hopes of rich as well as poor."

TODAY'S MEMBERS OF the middle and professional classes wonder daily what the new normal will be. They're aware, some vaguely, others acutely, that during this period—the most chastening experience in their lives—their families' habits and attitudes are changing both conspicuously and imperceptibly. They chew over what further adjustments are prudent; they worry over what additional ones may become necessary. And perhaps most disquietingly, they speculate whether the adjustments they've made in the face of unprecedented uncertainty—and whether that uncertainty itself—will become enduring features of their lives. These books suggest answers, some trivial and some profound. The Lynds' focus on the myriad ways the Depression was altering the lives and spirit of the middle classes makes *Middletown in Transition* especially enlightening—and in many ways unsettling. Although it certainly chronicles grim want and hunger (though not starvation) among the working class and unemployed middle classes, the dominant themes are emotional: unrelenting fear and dashed hope.

The defining characteristic of the middle classes has always been their

orientation toward the future. The Depression ruined schemes for such baubles and pleasures as the new car and the winter vacation. But it also at best disrupted and at worst (and often) destroyed carefully wrought plans for so-called investments in the future: the substantial house in the stable neighborhood, the savings account, and, most important, what was then and remains the cynosure of American middle- and professional-class family life—a college education, or a certain kind of college education, for the children. Even today, that investment largely determines the

opportunities parents seize or forgo, the towns they move to, the rhythm of a family's daily life. The Depression rendered any careful planning for the future, an activity that depends on predictable conditions, all but impossible, or at least crazy-making.

Again, most earners in the middle classes were still employed, but their livelihoods were in daily jeopardy; throughout the country even those at the apex of the professions—doctors and lawyers—saw their incomes drop by as much as 40 percent. Moreover, although professional-class families had invested and saved prudently (or so they thought), many had been ruined. Leaving aside the losses in the stock market, a form of investment overwhelmingly confined

to members of the middle and upper classes, throughout America from 1929 to 1932, some 9 million savings accounts were wiped out (savings accounts, too, were largely limited to members of the middle and upper classes, who alone had extra dollars to put away). More important, even those families not ruined knew that their reverses—those gargantuan declines in the values of their homes and portfolios and the all but universal drastic declines in income during what were supposed to be their peak years of wealth-building—were irretrievable. They'd never get back to where they'd been, to the foundation on which just a few years before they had assumed their future would be built

**MIDDLETOWN
IN TRANSITION**

By Robert S. and
Helen Merrell Lynd
HARCOURT BRACE

**DOMESTIC
REVOLUTIONS:
A SOCIAL HISTORY
OF AMERICAN
FAMILY LIFE**

By Steven Mintz
and Susan Kellogg
FREE PRESS

**WOMEN'S WORK
AND FAMILY
VALUES, 1920-1940**

By Winifred D.
Wandersee
HARVARD

**HOLDING
THEIR OWN:
AMERICAN WOMEN
IN THE 1930s**

By Susan Ware
TWAYNE

What Is the *Real* Story behind Christianity's Formative Years?

Explore the surprising development of early Christianity as it transformed from the religion *of* Jesus to a religion *about* Jesus. **From Jesus to Constantine: A History of Early Christianity** shows you how the form of Christianity we know today emerged only after many years of transition and conflict. In 24 engaging lectures that will increase your understanding of Christianity, you discover how a single group from among many "lost Christianities" won the struggle for dominance, established its beliefs as central to the faith, rewrote the history of Christianity's internal conflicts, and produced a canon of sacred texts—the New Testament—to support its own views.

Bestselling author and award-winning Professor Bart D. Ehrman, Chair of the Department of Religion at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, offers you a scholar's perspective on the origins of what he calls the most important institution in Western civilization.

This course is one of The Great Courses®, a noncredit recorded college lecture series from The Teaching Company®. Award-winning professors of a wide array of subjects in the sciences and the liberal arts have made more than 300 college-level courses that are available now on our website.

From Jesus to Constantine: A History of Early Christianity

Taught by Professor Bart D. Ehrman,
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Lecture Titles

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The Birth of Christianity | 13. Christian Reactions to Persecution |
| 2. The Religious World of Early Christianity | 14. The Early Christian Apologists |
| 3. The Historical Jesus | 15. The Diversity of Early Christian Communities |
| 4. Oral and Written Traditions about Jesus | 16. Christianities of the Second Century |
| 5. The Apostle Paul | 17. The Role of Pseudepigrapha |
| 6. The Beginning of Jewish-Christian Relations | 18. The Victory of the Proto-Orthodox |
| 7. The Anti-Jewish Use of the Old Testament | 19. The New Testament Canon |
| 8. The Rise of Christian Anti-Judaism | 20. The Development of Church Offices |
| 9. The Early Christian Mission | 21. The Rise of Christian Liturgy |
| 10. The Christianization of the Roman Empire | 22. The Beginnings of Normative Theology |
| 11. The Early Persecutions of the State | 23. The Doctrine of the Trinity |
| 12. The Causes of Christian Persecution | 24. Christianity and the Conquest of Empire |

Order Today!
Offer expires Friday, November 13, 2009

From Jesus to Constantine: A History of Early Christianity
Course No. 6577
24 lectures (30 minutes/lecture)

DVDs ~~\$254.95~~ NOW \$69.95
+ \$10 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Audio CDs ~~\$179.95~~ NOW \$49.95
+ \$10 Shipping, Processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

Priority Code: 33447

ACT NOW!

1-800-TEACH-12
www.TEACH12.com/1at1



THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE
GUARANTEED.™

FINANCIAL SURVIVAL
STRATEGY XVI

HEED THE ECONOMIC INDICATORS

seek the lowest price



Daedalus Books

*The Best Browse
in Bargain Books*

For a free catalog call
1.800.395.2665
salebooks.com

ALWAYS PAY THE LOWEST PRICE

(not unlike, say, parents of today who have for years carefully contributed to now-clobbered 529 plans for their adolescents). Disaster was always imminent; the future was at best chancy and diminished. Inescapably, Muncie's middle classes endured year after year of an emotional state that resembled, as the Lynds put it,

the crisis quality of a serious illness, when life's customary busy immediacies drop away and one lies helplessly confronting oneself, reviewing the past, and asking abrupt questions of the future.

Such psychological inferences may be squishy, but all of these accounts agree on one workaday detail of middle-class life: the effort to maintain the highest-possible standard of material living in an age of reduced circumstances meant that the physical burden of the new normal fell overwhelmingly on women. The hours of what were then called servants were cut, or those workers were fired altogether (just as is now happening with the hours and jobs of housekeepers, nannies, and—at least here in Southern California—gardeners), but the tasks they performed remained to be done. And “domestic” work that had previously been performed outside the home shifted to the household. Home-baked bread replaced store-bought; home preserving became de rigueur (one of the few bright spots in Muncie's economy during the Depression's early years was that its Ball Brothers plant, the country's largest manufacturer of fruit jars, was blessed with capacity production). Clothes and household items were mended rather than replaced. Today, the twice-weekly takeout dinners from Boston Market or the Whole Foods deli counter, along with the regular expeditions to California Pizza Kitchen or Outback Steakhouse, have been reduced, and children and adults are more frequently brown-bagging their lunches—which means that more meals are being prepared at

home. Eighty years ago, it was wives and mothers who overwhelmingly took up the slack. Surprise, surprise: little has changed today.

How observing even more intensive female labor within their households will affect children's attitudes toward gender roles is impossible to foresee. But if the Depression is any guide, economically induced alterations in family life and habits will have subtle and far-reaching consequences. For instance, because families anxious about spending money curtailed outside activities, the Depression famously drew them more tightly together. Families gardened and used their backyards more (the 1930s saw a renaissance in badminton); in the evenings they gathered around the radio, worked on jigsaw puzzles (another 1930s craze), played cards and, of course, Monopoly (an irony-heavy product of the Depression). And—that free and quintessentially homebody activity—they read. Between 1929, the last year of the boom, and 1933, the

**During the
Depression
the physical
burden of the
new normal fell
overwhelmingly
on women.
Surprise!
Little has
changed today.**

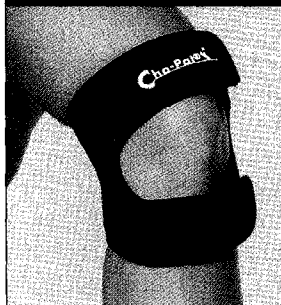
nadir of the Depression, Muncie's public-library circulation more than doubled, as did the average number of books each patron borrowed; today, owing to the recession, libraries are seeing circulation grow by a more modest but still significant 10 to 30 percent. In addition, children's responsibilities increased: half of all boys in one survey had part-time jobs, and both girls and boys took

on more household chores. Whether or not they worked outside the home, these children believed they had productive roles to perform for the family's betterment, and saw the Depression as a family problem they had to help face—an attitude that pulled them ever more strongly into the family circle.

Children of the Great Depression (1974), by Glen Elder Jr., grew out of another grand sociological project: a longitudinal study that followed the attitudes and outcomes of 167 Depression-era Oakland children through the 1960s. In his assessment of the adult subjects' values, Elder concluded that

the Atlantic EMPORIUM

DUAL ACTION KNEE STRAP



Knees take a beating! Cho-Pat's patented strap applies pressure upon the patellar tendons both below and above the knee to

reduce subluxation, improve tracking and elevation, and provide support and stability. Easy to use, comfortable, allows full mobility, and available in six sizes for more specific and effective results.

www.cho-pat.com
800.221.1601

CAMPUS QUILT COMPANY



Campus Quilt turns your t-shirts into an awesome new quilt. We do all the work for you and return your completed t-shirt quilt in as few as two weeks. As featured on ESPN and the Today Show. \$129 and up.

www.campusquilt.com

MAINE LOBSTER POT PIES

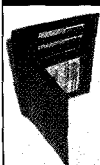


Award-winning Lobster Pot Pies loaded with Maine lobster in a sherry cream sauce. Lobster-shaped puff-pastry adorns each pot pie. Packaged in ceramic

ramekins for simple bake and serve; shipped frozen. See our website for more gourmet lobster specialties from the coast of Maine. Use coupon code TA19 for 10% off through November 2009.

www.hancockgourmetlobster.com
800.552.0142

SIGNATURE PLUS LTD.



www.IDSafety24on7.com

Do you know that you are at risk? Your passport and credit cards carry a chip which can be read remotely by thieves without your knowledge.

Protect yourself from Identity Theft!

The Strap

1-888-307-8727

Also by Signature Plus Ltd.: **The Original Personalized Luggage Belt**

Our ID protection wallets and personalized luggage straps give you ultimate protection against identity theft. Visit our web sites for more details.

www.the-strap.com

SLIM LINE HOODED CAPE

ON SALE! Classic comfort and style.

Offered in black, blue, camel, charcoal, cranberry, & purple.

100% Merino wool
(P/M/L) Reg. \$330
XLong Reg. \$360
NOW \$100 Off
in-stock Merino!

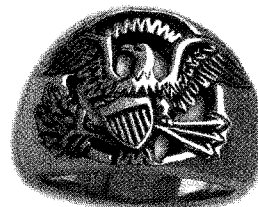
100% Cashmere
(P/M/L) Reg. \$795
XLong Reg. \$850
NOW \$200 Off
in-stock Cashmere!

Made in Maine.

www.cascobaywoolworks.com
888.222.9665



EAGLE RING COLLECTION

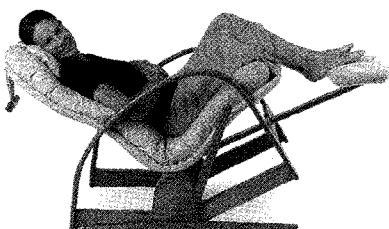


Senator, 14K Gold

A great gift for patriots of all political parties. Choose from thirty of our nation's distinguished U.S. eagles, masterfully handcrafted into the most striking ring collection in the world. Heavy in weight, extreme in detail and registered in the Library of Congress. Made in the USA, 100% guaranteed.

www.eaglerings.com
888.512.1333

BRIGGER FURNITURE



For 30 years we have been making uniquely comfortable chairs, rockers, recliners and sofas in our New England workshop. Our exclusive designs combine solid hardwoods with fine fabrics and leathers to fit any decor. Visit our online showroom and find the furniture that's truly "made to fit your body."

www.kleindesign.com
800.451.7247

ATHENA PHEROMONES™



Unscented cosmetic fragrance additives for men and women

ATM

Enjoy more affection with Biologist's pheromones. Developed by Dr. Winnifred Cutler, co-discoverer of human pheromones in 1986.

"Quite honestly, my wife has become my best friend... You literally have saved my marriage. Thank you so much." —Sam, NE
4-6 month supply from \$98.50.

www.athenainstitute.com
610.827.2200

NATURAL IS BEST



Free Catalog

Wholesale herbs, spices and teas since 1969 and Summer Field Spice — our own salt-free culinary blends prepared "in house" with no additives or MSG. Contact us for a catalog of the finest certified organic herbs.

www.herbspicetea.com
800.227.2830

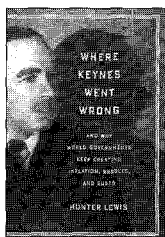
Connect directly with these advertisers at www.theatlantic.com/store

NEW FROM AXIOS PRESS

When the world financial system failed in 2008, world governments used a playbook devised by famed British economist John Maynard Keynes.

But should we be relying so completely on Keynes? What if he is wrong? If Keynes is wrong, then so are the economic policies of Barack Obama, George W. Bush, and virtually all world governments today.

Where Keynes Went Wrong addresses these critical questions in a lively, stimulating, and transparently clear style.



\$18 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-1-60419-017-5

"Just what the world needs, and just in time. Keynes is demolished and his quack system refuted. But this wonderful book does more. It restores clear thinking and common sense to their rightful places in the economic policy debate. Three cheers for Hunter Lewis!"

JAMES GRANT
Editor of *Grant's Interest Rate Observer*

Available from
leading booksellers
everywhere



Books to help you
think through your
personal choices

MERCER AND SONS.COM
1-800-705-2828

Truly generous cut. Distinctive 3 7/16" full roll collar.
Two-ply Pima Cotton Oxfords. Long sleeves, tail.
Guaranteed **impeccable** after 150+ washes.
White, Blue, Pink, Yellow, Cream. Also Blue, Red, Charcoal, Pink and White Stripes.

Also:
1st Time Buyers- Save 25%
Straight Collars. Sea Islands. Sport Shirts. Custom.

CATALOG AND SWATCHES. MADE IN USA SINCE 1982.

MISSION LIGHTS
Table & Floor Lamps
Indoor & Outdoor Fixtures
Kichler's Canyon View Outdoor Lantern
(800) 736-0126
www.thebrightspot.com

THE BOW TIE CLUB
www.bowtieclub.com
for the finest silk
bow ties available!
Call for a free catalog
1-888-BOW-TIES.
www.bowtieclub.com

Depression-created domestic routines and enlarged responsibilities "made an enduring contribution to views on 'things that matter' in life. The one common value across men and women is the centrality of the family." He drew a direct connection between children's peculiar domestic life in the Depression and the "familistic aura of the postwar years." Of course, the Great Recession's impact on family togetherness hasn't yet been measured, but because shopping, second only to TV watching, is the country's favorite form of recreation and people are shopping much less, it stands to reason that family members are spending more time at home—even if this time they're probably in front of the television and computer screens.

THE POWERFUL SENSE of uncertainty the Depression engendered did more than influence family life; it altered the family's formation and its very makeup, especially among the planning-prone middle classes. The Depression years, which followed on the heels of what seemed to be the most promiscuous decade in American history, brought with it a chilling of the sexual atmosphere, embodied most noticeably in the sudden shift, following the 1929 crash, to long skirts. Writing about Depression notions of femininity in *Only Yesterday*, the journalist Frederick Lewis Allen remarked, "The red-hot baby had gone out of style." Dating, like other outside-the-home activities, became far rarer, and although sex hardly requires a formal date, Depression-era boys, fearing the consequences of impregnating their paramours, came to see girls, in the journalist Caroline Bird's term, as "booby traps." Sexual activity is notoriously tricky to measure, but Army doctors reported surprisingly lower VD rates among Civilian Conservation Corps recruits than had been found among World War I draftees. Within marriage, hazy evidence suggests that anxiety and feelings of male inadequacy led to a decline in sex. More conspicuously, the Depression brought about a sharp and sudden drop in marriages—a 31.4 percent decline from 1929 to 1932. Because of its economic consequences, pregnancy came to be seen among

women of the middle classes as "a disaster," Bird recalls. "The first thing intimates asked a pregnant woman was whether she had considered 'doing something about it.'" Most noticeably, economic insecurity forced couples to have fewer children. For the first time in American history, the birthrate dropped below the replacement level; in the 1930s, the cohort under the age of 19 was proportionately smaller than it had been during any other era.

It will take an effort not unlike that of the Lynds—and then probably decades of scholarly synthesis of the information revealed in such an effort—to gauge the Great Recession's social impact. But we should bear in mind one way in which the mythology of the Depression might, ironically, make us too optimistic. We have learned from the Depression that the country, eventually, recovers: the Second World War brought economic revival, and the postwar boom followed. End of story. But what's true for the economy and the country in the broadest sense wasn't true for the people who endured the Depression. College enrollments dropped (note to still-rich underachievers: this did make getting into college easier for those who could afford it), and careers were delayed and forsaken. For those starting out in the 1930s, opportunities were lost forever. The same may be true for those in the starting blocks now. And you in the midstretch—with your shrunken home values and denuded brokerage accounts, 401(k)s, and 529s—take heed: those anxious Muncie burghers were right. Much of the upper-middle class never had the time to recover all the ground they had lost so quickly, a fact that bestowed on a generation an attenuated and seemingly premature sense of life's doors closing. As one haute-bourgeois housewife remarked:

The march backwards entails many things that leave a bitter taste. In youth poverty is a novitiate, a preparation for the race; in middle life one is a little terrified by the thought that it is the taking of final vows, that the race has been run. **A**

Benjamin Schwarz is *The Atlantic's* literary editor and national editor.

95% OF MEN AGREE BONOBOS FIT BETTER

WE MAKE AWESOME MEN'S CLOTHES

95% of guys who try Bonobos become customers. Our clothes fit better, look better, and make you feel better.

YOU BUY BONOBOS ONLINE

Bonobos offers free shipping both ways with a generous return policy. Shop at **bonobos.com** or at our Flatiron headquarters.

OUR NINJAS TAKE CARE OF YOU

We hire competent and intelligent professionals to deliver exceptional customer service. We call them the Ninjas.

WE HAVE A SOUL

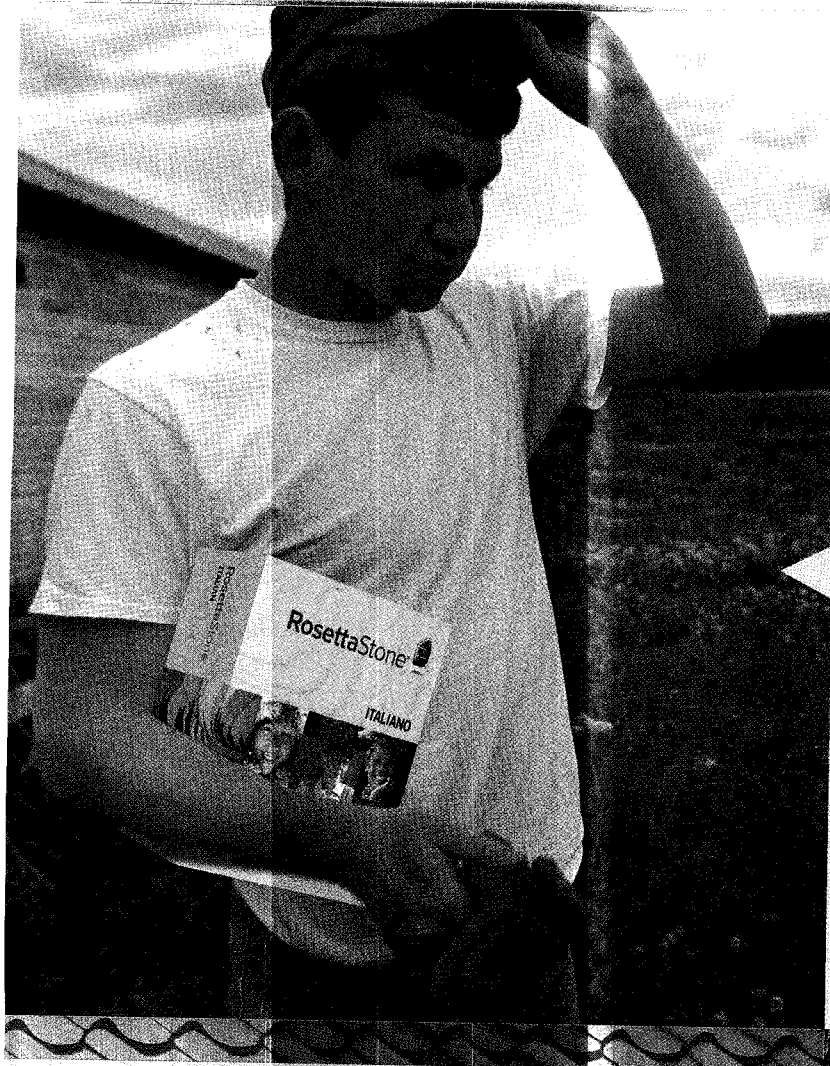
Our Band of Brothers program offers a steep discount for qualified applicants who have chosen a career of service. With every new customer we acquire, we donate funds to help save the bonobo, our namesake.



Bonobos

Shop better fitting men's clothes at **bonobos.com**

Use code **Atlantic** for **15% off** your first order. Expires 11/15/09.



He was a
hardworking farm boy.

She was an
Italian supermodel.

He knew he would
have just one chance
to impress her.

The fastest and easiest
way to learn ITALIAN.

Arabic • Chinese (Mandarin) • Danish • Dutch • English (American) • English (British) • Filipino (Tagalog) • French • German • Greek • Hebrew • Hindi • Indonesian • Irish • Italian • Japanese • Korean • Latin • Pashto • Persian (Farsi) • Polish • Portuguese (Brazil) • Russian • Spanish (Latin America) • Spanish (Spain) • Swahili • Swedish • Thai • Turkish • Vietnamese • Welsh

Rosetta Stone® brings you a complete language-learning solution, wherever you are: at home, in-the-car or on-the-go. You'll learn quickly and effectively, without translation or memorization. You'll discover our method, which keeps you excited to learn more and more.

- You'll experience **Dynamic Immersion®** as you match real-world images to words spoken by native speakers so you'll find yourself engaged and learn your second language like you learned your first.
- Our proprietary **Speech Recognition Technology** evaluates your speech and coaches you on more accurate pronunciation. You'll speak naturally.
- Only Rosetta Stone has **Adaptive Recall®**, that brings back material to help you where you need it most, for more effective progress.
- And Rosetta Stone includes **Audio Companion®** so that you can take the Rosetta Stone experience anywhere you use a CD or MP3 player.

Innovative software. Immersive method. Complete mobility. It's the total solution. Get Rosetta Stone — **The Fastest Way to Learn a Language. Guaranteed.®**



SAVE 10%!

**100% GUARANTEED
SIX-MONTH MONEY-BACK**

Level 1	Reg. \$229	NOW \$206
Level 1, 2 & 3	Reg. \$499	NOW \$449

©2008 Rosetta Stone Ltd. All rights reserved. Offer applies to Personal Edition only. Patent rights pending. Offer cannot be combined with any other offer. Prices subject to change without notice. Six-Month Money-Back Guarantee is limited to product purchases made directly from Rosetta Stone and does not include return shipping. Guarantee does not apply to an online subscription or to Audio Companion purchased separately from the CD-ROM product. All materials included with the product at the time of purchase must be returned together and undamaged to be eligible for any exchange or refund.

Call
(877) 718-9317

Online
RosettaStone.com/ams109

Use promotional code **ams109** when ordering.

Offer expires January 31, 2010.

RosettaStone® 

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Cheap Laughs

THE SMUG SATIRE OF LIBERAL HUMORISTS DEBASES OUR COMEDY—
AND OUR NATIONAL CONVERSATION.

By Christopher Hitchens

THE MERRY MONTH of July 2009 had barely witnessed the spectacle of Al Franken eventually taking his seat as the junior senator from Minnesota when, immediately following the death of Walter Cronkite, *Time* magazine took an online poll to determine who was now “America’s most trusted newscaster.” Seven percent of those responding named Katie Couric. Nineteen percent nominated Charles

Gibson. Twenty-nine percent went for Brian Williams. But the clear winner, garnering 44 percent, was Jon Stewart of *The Daily Show*. Either I missed it, or the poll failed to specify, in that wonderfully reassuring way that polls purport to do, what had been its “margin of error.”

A summer debate at the Oxford Union once resolved: “This House believes that the nation is slowly sinking giggling into the sea.” Do July’s antic

politico-media developments mean that undergraduate humor has now triumphed definitively, and that the balance of power is held by the sensibilities of the combined teams of Mr. Stewart and *Saturday Night Live*? Although the answer to the second part of that question is certainly no (the balance of power will continue to be held by opinion polls and those who are in a position to commission and print them), the answer to the first part would appear to be



2009 Ultra High Relief Double Eagle Gold Coin

Minted exclusively for 2009 by the United States Mint, the 2009 Ultra High Relief Double Eagle Gold Coin is art produced in 1 oz, pure 24-karat gold.

Considered by many to be the most beautiful coin in the world.

Originally designed by the famous sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens at the request of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Cutting-edge technology used to perfect the 1907 original.

See for yourself why this 1 oz, 24-karat gold coin is considered by many to be the most beautiful coin in American history at usmint.gov/glory.



UNITED STATES MINT

yes. And even the answer to the second part might have to be somewhat qualified: if any one thing crucially undid the candidacy of Senator John McCain for the presidency, it was his nomination of Sarah Palin to be his running mate. And if any one thing undid Governor Palin as a person who could even be considered for the vice presidency, it was the merciless guying of her manner and personality by Tina Fey.

You may conceivably have forgotten that when, after the numbing assault on our civil society in September 2001, Mayor Rudy Giuliani wanted to signal some kind of return to "normalcy," it was to the set of *Saturday Night Live* that he repaired. (They fed him some quite good lines, too: asked with due solemnity "Can we be funny?," he responded, "Why start now?") I distinctly remember wondering what, if they were watching it, the al-Qaeda leadership could possibly be making of this dialogue.

Long before the *Weekly Standard* crew disembarked at Anchorage for its now-historic call upon the lady governor, I myself once sat on a cruise-ship entertainment panel—sponsored off the imposing shores of Alaska by *The Nation* magazine—with Betty Friedan and Al Franken. In the spontaneous-humor stakes, I seem to remember outpointing Betty with relative ease, but I nonetheless noticed with slight envy that some "progressive" women in the front row would start laughing uncontrollably as soon as it was Franken's turn to speak and, indeed, often before he had even opened his mouth. I'd already admired a Mick Jagger impersonation I'd seen him do in Washington (at a benefit for the National Committee for an Effective Congress) and an after-dinner performance he'd given at the White House Correspondents' Dinner in the Clinton era. Franken has a naturally comic face, very,

very good deadpan timing, and an absolutely copper-bottomed, 100 percent, and unironic allegiance to every known tenet of the Democratic Party's version of liberalism. In minor conversation at the ship's bar, about the impending campaign of Hillary Clinton for the Senate (or rather, for her unopposed nomination to the Democratic machine's ticket for same), I came to see that Franken's secret asset was that he was really quite a hard-bitten and hard-line partisan.

The victory of Stewart in the race for anointment as the new Cronkite surprised me less perhaps than it will have surprised some of you. Not long ago, I was teaching a class on Mark Twain at the New School in New York and someone asked me who, if anybody, would be the equivalent figure for today. I was replying that I didn't think there was one, though the younger Gore Vidal might once have conceivably been in contention, when someone broke in to say: "What about Jon Stewart?" I was thunderstruck at how many heads nodded, and I replied that I would know better next week, after my upcoming appearance on the show. I recall this now as winning me the most respect I have ever had from any class. The day after my appearance, I was at West Point to lecture to the cadets and was stopped everywhere I walked by young trainee warriors for America who had caught my act. This

sort of thing can become heady.

It also has its vaguely alarming side. "Al Franken for Senator" is one thing (especially when the alternative is or was "Norm Coleman for Senator"). But Jon Stewart for Samuel Langhorne Clemens is quite another. What next? Stephen Colbert for Zola? Al Franken for Swift?

Franken very often refers to himself as a "satirist," which is a piece of hubris that comes to him too glibly and

RUSH LIMBAUGH IS A BIG FAT IDIOT, AND OTHER OBSERVATIONS

By Al Franken
DELL

WHY NOT ME?

By Al Franken
DELACORTE

LIES AND THE LYING LIARS WHO TELL THEM: A FAIR AND BALANCED LOOK AT THE RIGHT

By Al Franken
DUTTON

THE TRUTH (WITH JOKES)

By Al Franken
DUTTON

AMERICA (THE BOOK) TEACHER'S EDITION: A CITIZEN'S GUIDE TO DEMOCRACY INACTION

Presented by
The Daily Show
With Jon Stewart
WARNER

NAKED PICTURES OF FAMOUS PEOPLE

By Jon Stewart
MORROW

I AM AMERICA (AND SO CAN YOU!)

By Stephen Colbert
GRAND CENTRAL

SET A COURSE FOR A LIFETIME

Where does your internal compass point? To a forest, desert, mountain, river, or sea? Follow it on one of 500 wilderness adventures. Tackle a challenge that will set your direction for a lifetime.

No Experience Necessary.

This is Outward Bound. This challenge belongs to you.

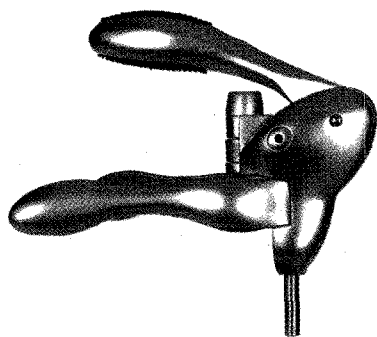


**Outward Bound
Wilderness**

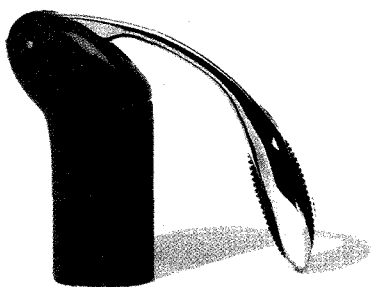
www.outwardboundwilderness.org

1-888-88BOUND

How do you like your Rabbit?



Over easy?



Or straight up?

The Original Rabbit pulls a cork in three seconds flat – with an over-easy pull of its lever. The new Vertical Rabbit does the same thing in the same time but does it straight up.

Which Rabbit is better? Don't ask us. We're proud parents, and all our Rabbits are brilliant.

Where to go Rabbit hunting:
Bed, Bath & Beyond,
Bloomingdales, Crate & Barrel,
KitchenKapers.com,
Le Gourmet Chef, Macy's,
Specs Liquors, Sur La Table,
Amazon.com

rabbit
corkscrew
metrokane

naturally. One wants to say, on hearing or reading such a claim, “Actually, sunshine, we’ll be the judge of that.” Swift famously compared satire to a mirror in which people could see every face but their own: if Franken desires to be considered a connoisseur of the satirical, he might want to paste that line into his hat.

The best of his books, which is (I’ll call it for brevity’s sake) *Lies*, is in fact a fine if accidental illustration of the Swiftian maxim. The necessary clue appears as early as page 37, while Franken is having some easy fun tossing and goring the hapless Bernie Goldberg on the hoary old question of liberal bias in the media. Still, ask yourself who exactly gets himself caught in the following exchange of trick questions:

Why, Bernie asks, if CBS identifies the Heritage Foundation as a “conservative” think tank, does it not identify the Brookings Institution as a “liberal” think tank?

I don’t know. Bias? Or could it be because the Heritage Foundation’s website says their mission is to “promote conservative public policies,” while the Brookings website says it is committed to “independent, factual and nonpartisan research”?

But Goldberg, as Franken concedes at the outset, does not complain about the identification of Heritage as conservative. He complains about the non-identification of Brookings as liberal. It’s hardly a satiric smackdown to cite Brookings itself asking and expecting to be taken—as it is by Franken—at its own “objective” face value. That’s Goldberg’s accusation to begin with.

The next complaint Franken has is against Goldberg’s insistence that Rosie O’Donnell should be described as being as “liberal” as Rush Limbaugh is conservative. Once again, Limbaugh hardly pretends to be otherwise, while Ms. O’Donnell—held harmless by Franken—may well not deserve to be called “liberal” but is partly an apolitical nut and part echo chamber for the more dubious

wing of MoveOn.org and even the putrid fringe of the “9/11 Truth” nutbags.

Some of the more tedious moments of my life have been spent on the *Hannity & Colmes* show (I still await the call

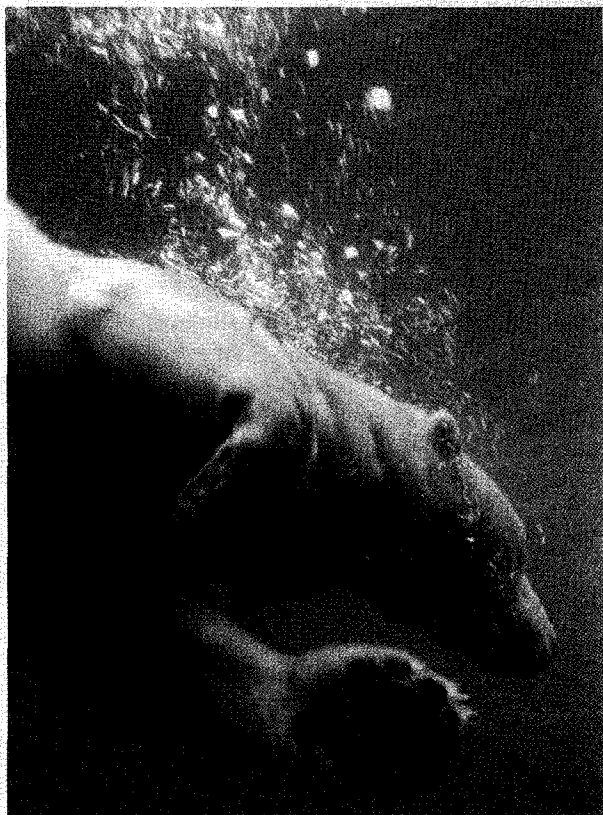
from Bill O’Reilly), but Franken on page 99 decides to attack Hannity just where he is at his strongest, in a diatribe he broadcast against John Walker Lindh, the so-called American Taliban. Of this pathetic yet sinister character Hannity made the debatable assertion that he “converted from anything-goes liberal agnosticism to hard-core Middle Eastern radical Islam.” What-

ever may be said against this proposition, Franken notably fails to say it:

Before reading this, I had never considered the direct line between liberal agnosticism and hard-core, radical Islam. But Hannity has a strong case. So many of my liberal, agnostic women friends from college gradually relinquished their freedoms and decided to spend the rest of their lives in chadors, avoiding the gaze of man.

If this was being intoned on-air by Jon Stewart, the cue for massive studio-audience laughter would have been activated at the word *chadors*, allowing him to beam modestly and likably through the mildly suggestive last four words. On the page, however, it is less easy to hurry us right past the main point. A noticeable swath of campus feminist opinion, which is not alone in this respect, *has* in fact adopted an attitude of cultural relativism toward political Islam, and of decided non-neutrality against its militant female opponents such as Ayaan Hirsi Ali. And the current president of the United States, whom it might not be altogether inaccurate to describe as the Galahad of the *SNL* and Stewart generations, has made exactly one speech about Muslim garb—defining the wearing of the hijab as a human right and indirectly attacking those French secularists who have their misgivings about it.

Al Franken for senator is one thing. But Jon Stewart for Sam Clemens is quite another. What next? Stephen Colbert for Zola? Al Franken for Swift?



This is not a dinosaur.
Or an extinct species.
Or something your kids will only read about.
But never see.
This is not the last of its kind.
This is worth fighting for.
And it's got a fighting chance.

Earthjustice is using the courts
to protect polar bear habitat
from unsound oil and gas
development. It's just one of the
ways we're preserving our natural
heritage, safeguarding health, and
promoting a clean energy future.
Join us at earthjustice.org.



EARTHJUSTICE

Because the earth needs a good lawyer

photo: Stefan Hunger

Rain or Shine

Pure fur felt hats, quality made in Australia, providing years of great looking service.



1611...\$120

Snowy River

Pure fur felt, pre-creased 4" crown, 3 1/4" brim. 6 3/4 - 8 1/8. Fawn, Medium Gray or Black



1632...\$125

Adventurer

Pure fur felt fedora, open 5 1/2" crown, (Indy bash shown, shaping charge extra) 3 1/8" brim front and back, 2 3/4" on sides. Sizes 7 - 8. Color Mid Brown



1622...\$150

Banjo Paterson

Pre-creased 4 1/2" crown, 2 3/4" brim. Premium felt, Barramundi skin hat band. 6 3/4 - 8. Heritage Fawn or Charcoal

\$8 handling. Satisfaction guaranteed.

Visit us online or request a catalog



Akubra® Hats from Australia
Northwest Coast Indian Jewelry
Filson® Outdoor Clothing & Luggage



David Morgan

800-324-4934 davidmorgan.com
11812 N Creek Pkwy N, Suite 103 • Bothell WA 98011

One could actually write a whole article simply on the Franken-Stewart faction's attitude toward religion. In their world, the expressions *Christian right* or *Moral Majority* are automatic laugh cues, and there is a huge amount of soft-core borscht-belt stuff like this (from Franken) on page 205 of *The Truth*:

If it hadn't been for Social Security, I never would have met Franni in Boston my freshman year, deflowered her, and gotten her to renounce the Pope. But I digress.

And this, from pages 1 and 2 of Jon Stewart's *Naked Pictures of Famous People* (his book *America* also carries a rib-tickling cover-line promise of Supreme Court justices posing nude) in a painfully unfunny essay/sketch titled "Breakfast at Kennedy's," set this time in Connecticut, at Choate:

That's where Jack and I bonded. I was the only Jew. My father ran the commissary so I was allowed to attend school there. My room, or the Yeshiva, as Jack called it (he really wasn't prejudiced and would often defend me to the others as a "terrific yid"), was a meeting-place and a hotbed for hatching great pranks ... I'm sure the ample supply of brisket and whitefish from Dad helped.

And in a more goyish form from Stephen Colbert, by no means to be outdone, on page 56 of *I Am America*:

Now, I have nothing but respect for the Jewish people. Since the Bible is 100% the true Word of God, and the Jews believe in the Old Testament, that means Judaism is 50% right.

If you chance to like this sort of thing, then this is undoubtedly the sort of thing you will like. It certainly works very well with audiences who laugh not because they find something to be funny, but to confirm that they are—and who can doubt it?—cool enough to "get" the joke. What you will not find, in any of this output, is anything remotely "satirical" about the pulpit of the Reverend Jeremiah Wright, or any straight-faced, eyebrow-raising (and studio-audience-thigh-slap-triggering) mention of, say, *The New York Times's* routine practice of captioning Al Sharpton as "the civil rights activist." Baudelaire wrote that

the devil's greatest achievement was to have persuaded so many people that he doesn't exist: liberal platitudinousness must be a bit like that to those who suffer from it without quite acknowledging that there is such a syndrome to begin with.

I myself would have voted for Franken if I lived in Minnesota, if only because he must be among the best-read and best-informed people to have recently run for the upper chamber, as well as one of the very few with whom one might also expect to pass an amusing evening. It took me a while to appreciate the paradox that lies at the center of the senator's so-far published work. He is really quite witty—which is much better than being funny—when he is being purely political. But he is barely even funny when funny is all he is trying to be. See if the following causes you to smile. It's taken from his inaugural address, on page 223 of *Why Not Me?*

As the Mandingo buck, Mede, says in the movie after he has been brought to James Mason's plantation to be used as breeding stock, "Massa, it beez wrong to sell a nigger like a plow horse." He's right. It does beez wrong. It beez *very* wrong. These words are as true today as when Ken Norton said them twenty-six short years ago. And I am here today to say that it was *wrong* to hunt escaped slaves down on horseback; it was *wrong* to boil slaves alive; and it was *wrong* to sell a black woman merely because her breasts had grown too droopy.

Jeepers. Of course the "irony" is that the passage is *supposed* to make you cringe a bit, but this crucially lowered and degraded definition of what is ironic is accidentally confessed a touch later on in the same book, when Franken is writing in his own voice:

"Ironic distance" is not [Al] Gore's problem. Not that he doesn't have a well-developed sense of irony. He actually has a terrific sense of humor.

See, there's your problem. A sense of irony is to be carefully, indeed strictly, distinguished from the possession of a funny bone. Irony is not air-quote finger-marks, as if to say "Just kidding" when in fact one is not quite kidding. (Does anyone ever say "Just kidding" when in fact only kidding?) Bathos is



by Impact Research
Technology Labs

Feel Like You're Defying Gravity! GUARANTEED!

**Walk and run faster, jump higher,
no fatigue and no more pain.**



Will G-Defy be banned from Athletic Competition?

Should they be considered as an unfair advantage? We don't know; all we can tell you is that this new technology in footwear will take your performance to the next level.

Advanced Technology in Footwear

Years of research went into the original Gravity Defyer Shoes. Starting with the same concept used in automobiles, spring shocks along with inflatable rubber, scientists at the Impact Research Technology Lab developed the first bionic and most comfortable footwear.

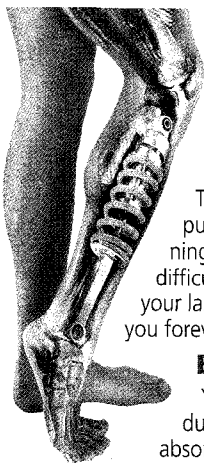
Genesis of Athletic Excellence

For those who want to elevate their game to the next level, these are the shoes for you. Owning a pair of G-Defy shoes today will change your spirit and make a difference in your athletic condition and your health. Feel the drive, the inspiration, the energy rush as soon as you slip your feet into the cockpit of the most exhilarating shoes in the world! Go from the weekend warrior to the daily champion at your gym and on the street.

The Technology of a Smart Spring

Within 10 days of regular use, the special combination of space age rubber and lightweight, durable springs will adjust to your activities and begin to improve your overall comfort.

**Smart memory
springs**
design in USA



Give your whole body a break from the stress of your high impact life. Active Sport Gravity Defyer Shoes provide you with access to a breakthrough in your athletic lifestyle. Be in action. Be unstoppable. Be comfortable and live pain free.

Great news for the Overweight?

The extra weight you've collected over the years puts an added toll on your bones and joints. Running isn't an option, and walking is becoming more difficult. The G-Defy Shoes will take the pressure from your large frame body, make you more active and change you forever!

Ease Joint Pain

You will notice immediate relief of common pain during exercise as the springs of the G-Defy shoes absorb most of the impact, rather than your body. The shock absorption power of the Active Sport G-Defy Shoes eases the stresses from the impact of walking, running and jumping on your joints, back and neck.



TB902MBL Men's Black
TB902MW Men's White
sizes 7.5 - 13.0
widths M(D), W(2E)

TB902FWS Women's White
TB902FB Women's Black
sizes 6.0 - 11.0
widths W(D), WW(2E)

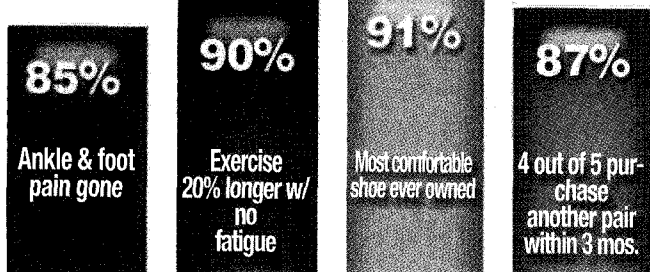
G-Defy Benefits

- Relieve all pains
- Ease joint & spine pressure
- Reduce fatigue and tiredness
- Be more active
- Have more energy
- Appear taller
- Jump higher, walk and run faster
- Have instant comfort
- Cool your feet & reduce foot odor
- Elevate your performance

Limited Time Only!
3 easy payments of
\$39.95 + SH

Order your G-Defy Shoes today!
Visit us online at www.gdefy.com/MD7KAA
Call (800) 429-0039
mention offer code: MD7KAA

100% Satisfaction Guaranteed, Nothing to Lose but your pain.
30 Day Money Back Guarantee. If not satisfied just send them back for a full refund of purchase price.



Clinical Survey - Survey conducted of 152 Gravity Defyer customers using the guidelines of New York College of Podiatric Medicine.
73% male and 27% female



Early in life there is one thing that people learn about natural laws: laws of nature do their own enforcing, and when not obeyed, they do their own punishing. The mere *attempt* to disobey a natural law, intended or not, exposes a person to whatever punishment that law imposes.



Richard W. Wetherill
1906-1989

Clearly laws of nature call for *obedience* or else. The "or else" keeps people eager to comply, especially when they know what the or else will be.

Man-made laws require *mankind* enforcement, so we find that man-made laws are often violated with seeming impunity unless violators are apprehended, charged, prosecuted, and sentenced by mankind enforcement.

Natural laws do not tolerate people's disobedience, a factor missing in mankind's laws. Most people feel free to ignore any man-made law whenever that seems to serve their purposes.

Because there are differing beliefs as to whoever or whatever the creator is, people fail to put their attention on the relevant fact that *it is creation's natural laws that rule planet Earth and its inhabitants*. Those differing beliefs also tend to divert proper attention from the basic cause of people's willful behavior.

There is a change that people must make that is *vital* to their well-being. But blocking that change is their unawareness that they are continually disobeying the dictates of a little-known natural law.

That little-known law was identified by the late Richard W. Wetherill decades ago. He called it the *law of absolute right*. It states *right action gets right results; wrong action gets wrong results*. It is the self-enforcing law that delivers the results of everybody's right or wrong behavior. When right, rational, and honest behavior is taken, situations are resolved. When behavior fails to meet nature's criteria, situations are unresolved and remain troublesome.

People have to know that whatever happens to them is the result of *their* input caused by trying to get their way. That is why there is on-going warfare, political turmoil, economic chaos, and eroding freedom to name a few serious problems facing the public. Clearly natural law is forced to deliver wrong results when caused

by the input from people's irrational, dishonest, wrong reactions to whatever happens.

Nature's *law of absolute right* is the self-enforcing law that when conformed to lifts people from a quagmire of problems and trouble. It is the law that transforms individuals and groups into rational, honest, right-minded citizens.

Using money as a solution never lastingly resolved troublesome human affairs, as evidenced by people's continually mounting wrong results. Surely *human problems and trouble continue to defy solution by use of any man-made procedure*.

Over the past decade a group of Wetherill's former students has been financing public-service advertising, letting people know that *there is a solution for all that is wrong in human affairs*.

Right results are delivered by natural law only when causal behavior conforms to the law's requirements, which is the very behavior of successful scientists when they conform to nature's laws of physics.

Wetherill taught that it takes a changeless decision to stop pitting our behavior against whoever or whatever created Earth, its laws, and its people. The behavioral law then serves its purpose to deliver right results, not wrong results. People's right behavior finally results in the "heaven on earth" intended by whoever or whatever the creator is!

Visit our Website www.alphapub.com. To speak with someone about books or to request a free mailing, call 800.992.9124. If you reach voice mail, *slowly spell* your name and address. Please name the magazine where you learned about The Alpha Publishing House. Or write to us at 411 Eagleview Blvd., Ste 100, Exton, PA 19341. Our mailing list is never distributed.

Text by E. Marie Bothe, President of The Alpha Publishing House.

not irony, though Franken and Stewart and Colbert seem unaware of this. Irony usually partakes of some element of the unintended consequence. How might I give an illustration of the laws of unintended consequences? Let us imagine that Senator Franken composed a chapter about government lying and cover-up, which involved the use of the irresistibly hilarious instance of Sandy Berger, President Clinton's former national security adviser, being caught red-handed as he stuffed his pants with classified papers from the National Archives. In a capital city that witnesses quite frequent alternations of power between the two main parties, what will be the chances that fiasco and corruption occur at the expense of only one of them? Yet meticulous care is taken by the senator to make sure that no such "fair and balanced" laughter is ever evoked, which is quite a sacrifice for a comedian. Consistency of this kind allows no spontaneity, let alone irony. It might even go some way to explaining the howling success of the "Air America" network, the collapsing-scenery rival to the right-wing dictatorship exerted over the rest of the ether.

In the pages of *Lies*, Senator Franken proves himself to have a lethal capacity to deploy wit as a part of a wider political takedown. He does his homework (one can usually guess the Washington outfit that does it for him, such as Citizens for Tax Justice, but he always gives credit) and then, when he is sure he has caught Bill O'Reilly or Ann Coulter, he begins to slow himself down, give himself time, and really milk the kill. If it's not laugh-out-loud funny, it's still pretty good polemical journalism. One has only to repress the thought that his preferred targets are perhaps a bit "fat" or "soft," or as committed as Stewart and Colbert (or indeed O'Reilly and Coulter) to the marketing of instant books with about two dozen words in the title (plus the

Franken refers to himself as a "satirist," which is a piece of hubris that comes to him too glibly and naturally. One wants to say, "Actually, sunshine, we'll be the judge of that."

invariable highlighting of the cabalistic airport-terminal symbol #1).

Stewart, too, has something of a fat-target problem, and seems partly unaware of this problem's source in his own need to please an audience that has a limited range of reference. In *Naked Pictures of Famous People*, when he decides to lampoon Larry King—who in any context is a barn-door-size target—he still manages to make the attack too broad. There's no slight nudge, but a huge dig in the ribs. It needs to be "Adolf Hitler: The Larry King Interview." And Hitler has to be a guest who has been helped by therapy to become more of a people person. Here's his opening reply to King's welcome to the show.

HITLER: (*biting into a bagel*) First of all, Larry, I don't know what I was so afraid of. These are delicious!!!

At whose expense, I wonder, are those three (count them!) exclamation marks? Who is afraid that who will miss what point? A few of King's characteristic interjections are well-enough parodied ("Lovely man, Bud Friedman, very funny"), but Rob Long of *National Review* does King to the very life three or four times a year with much less reliance on an overdone fantasy guest. Except how can anyone at *National Review* be funny? Weren't they for Bush, the very mention of whose brain or IQ is enough to ignite peals of mirth from those in Stewart's studio crowd who just know that they are smarter than he?

I noticed that both in Senator Franken's *Lies* and in the Stewart team's *America*, reference was made to Joseph Welch's famous challenge to Joseph McCarthy about whether there was any "decency" left at last. In other encounters with the same faction and its followers, I have found that this is one of the "quotes" or "moments" from recent American history that they can be reliably counted upon to know. Two things seem to be involved here: an

Publish Your Book

We print all kinds of books ~ fiction, self-help, religious, non-fiction, poetry, and more. Our FREE Publishing Guide answers all your questions.

We offer:

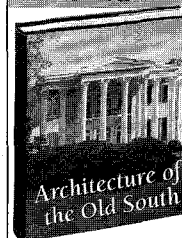
- low prices and many options
- production time of 20 days
- low minimum of 100 books
- assistance from start to finish



MP
MORRIS
PUBLISHING

For our FREE Guide, call
800-650-7888, ext. ATM10
morrispublishing.com

BOOKS ABOUT THE SOUTH



Ten celebrated volumes by Mills Lane surveying the best historical buildings from Maryland through Georgia to Louisiana.

visit our web site or call for catalogue
www.southernhistory.org
1-800-896-9772

THE BEEHIVE FOUNDATION
Savannah, Georgia

"THE BEST FOOTBALL MOVIE EVER"
- USA TODAY
NOW ON DVD & Blu-ray
HARVARD BEATS YALE 29-29
FREE CATALOG www.kino.com • 800-562-3330



Grace Rare Tea

Free catalog: Award-winning, traditional, loose teas of unsurpassed cup quality. Since 1959.

Grace Tea Company, Ltd.
156 Fifth Avenue #1112, New York City 10010
Tel/fax 212 255-2935 • www.gracetea.com

3 World-Class Cigars



for just
\$29.95
FREE SHIPPING

At Holt's we have the largest selection of all the best brands at prices you can afford. This assortment contains three of the finest cigars money can buy and only scratches the surface of our stock of high-quality, super-premium and rare cigars. Take advantage of this special sampler today and enjoy the free shipping we're offering. Once you come on board and realize our selection and service are unbeatable, we're confident we will gain a lifetime of loyal patronage.

1 each: Padron 1926 #6 Maduro • Ashton VSG Torpedo
Arturo Fuente Hemingway Signature



Order Today!
1-800-523-1641

Code: AM 1009 VIN1

FREE Catalog with purchase! Order toll-free 24/7!

www.holts.com

Expires 12/15/09. Offer good for new Holt's customers only. Free shipping applies only to ground shipping. One per address. Cigars of equal value may be substituted due to inventory conditions. Redeemable via mail order 800# only. Not redeemable via retail or e-commerce.

COLLECTOR SEEKS OLD ARTIFACTS

MASKS • CARVINGS • SHIELDS • WEAPONS • CLOTHING

Old North American Indian, Northwest Coast, Eskimo, Plains & Woodlands Indians, South Pacific, New Guinea Polynesian, African and Indonesian, Borneo, Sumatra artifacts including South American and ancient Egyptian. Also Eskimo soapstone carvings.

COLLECTIONS PURCHASED. PRIVACY ASSURED

OFFERING FREE IDENTIFICATION

416.596.1396 | goldenc@inforamp.net

Undiminished zest for life!

Diverse, appealing retirement community minutes from Oberlin College and its Conservatory of Music. Over 400 cultural events a year. Coordinated system of residential and health care options.

KENDAL®
at Oberlin

Oberlin, Ohio
800.548.9469
www.kao.kendal.org

SERVING OLDER ADULTS IN THE QUAKER TRADITION

CoffeeMakersEtc

Coffee & Espresso Equipment
for Your Home & Office
1-866-883-8181

www.coffeemakersetc.com



Free Catalog - Specialty Bow Ties

Handmade silk ties by Beau Ties Ltd. of Vermont
800-488-8437 www.beautiesltd.com/ad909

Smart Is Sexy!

Join the singles' network for graduates and faculty of the Ivy League, and other top schools.
www.rightstuffdating.com

FREE SPECIAL REPORT

H₂O Scams Exposed

Learn the truth about distilled, mineral, spring, well, filtered, bottled, alkalized and more...

1-800-874-9028 waterwise.com

almost nostalgic realization that at one time the hard-right wing believed the entertainment industry was an enemy; and a desire to prove that it still is. The "American" symbols all over the album-size volumes reviewed here brilliantly dispel/preempt any charge of being unpatriotic.

Some of the stupid right wing still *does* regard relatively innocuous mainstream-TV comedy as an enemy, which allows the "ironic" riposte that mainstream-TV comedy, and the mainstream-TV comedians who wax fat on it, are really not all that subversive after all. Here's Franken's own reassurance, from *The Truth*:

For Dad the rest of religion lay in the ethical teachings of Judaism and, to the extent he had absorbed them, of any other faith, Western, Eastern, or whatever. Again, not so different from our Founders. In their famous correspondence at the end of their lives, Adams and Jefferson wrote a lot about religion. When Adams concluded that his personal creed was "contained in four short words, 'Be just and good,'" Jefferson replied, "The result of our fifty or sixty years of religious reading, in the four words, 'Be just and good,' is that in which all our inquiries must end."

One might, I suppose, keep this piece of schmaltz handy for the next Judeo-Christian prayer breakfast, but meanwhile, it awakens an appetite to see more of the flashing scalpel and a good deal less of the rubber hammer and the exploding cigar. Almost everything that I have quoted was printed or broadcast at a time when the Democrats were in opposition in both chambers and many state houses, excluded from the White House, and in a minority on the Supreme Court. The rebel humor on offer was rather lame even then. Shall we now be witnesses to a further decline? (This year's African American lesbian comedian at the White House Correspondents' Dinner broke bravely with tradition and chose to roast the absent Rush Limbaugh rather than the incumbent chief executive, to roars of complicit and knowing applause.) A liberal joke, at present, is no laughing matter. ■

Christopher Hitchens is an Atlantic contributing editor and a Vanity Fair columnist.

HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS

Quality Tools at the LOWEST Prices

FACTORY DIRECT TO YOU!

How does Harbor Freight Tools sell high quality tools at such ridiculously low prices? We buy direct from the factories who also supply the major brands and sell direct to you. It's just that simple! Come see for yourself at one of our 330 STORES NATIONWIDE and use this 20% OFF Coupon on any of our 7,000 products. We stock Automotive products, Shop Equipment, Hand Tools, Tarps, Compressors, Air & Power Tools, Material Handling, Woodworking Tools, Welders, Tool Boxes, Outdoor Equipment, Generators, and much more. **Nobody Beats Our Quality, Service and Price!**

WHY WE HAVE 10 MILLION SATISFIED CUSTOMERS:

- ✓ We Buy Factory Direct and Pass the SAVINGS on to YOU!
- ✓ Shop & Compare Our Quality Brands Against Other National Brands
- ✓ 7000 Tool Items In-Stock!
- ✓ NO HASSLE RETURN POLICY
- ✓ Family Owned & Operated

LIFETIME WARRANTY
ON ALL HAND TOOLS!

SUPER COUPON!

20% OFF

ANY SINGLE ITEM!

Bring this coupon and Save 20% on one single item purchased at Harbor Freight Tools. Cannot be used with any other discount or coupon. One coupon per purchase. One coupon per customer. Coupon not valid on prior purchases or purchase of gift cards or purchase of extended service plans. Offer good on in-stock merchandise only. Savings discount percentage off Harbor Freight Tools current prices, including sale prices. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount. All Campbell Hausfeld products are excluded from this offer. This offer is not valid on food or beverage items sold in our retail stores. Valid only in Retail Stores through 1/14/10.



See HarborFreightusa.com/atlanticmag for additional SUPER COUPONS

3000 LB. CAPACITY LIGHTWEIGHT ALUMINUM RACING JACK
U.S. General
Item 91039 shown
\$59.99
REG. PRICE \$99.99
SAVE \$40
LOT NO. 91039/67408
21292644
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

3 PIECE TITANIUM NITRIDE COATED M2 HIGH SPEED STEEL STEP DRILLS
DRILL MASTER
LOT NO. 91616
\$7.99
REG. PRICE \$14.99
SAVE 46%
15096597
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

MULTIFUNCTION POWER TOOL
CHICAGO Electric Power Tools
LOT NO. 67256
\$29.99
REG. PRICE \$59.99
SAVE 50%
95539771
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

7" WET CUTTING TILE SAW
CHICAGO Electric Power Tools
LOT NO. 40315
\$49.99
REGULAR PRICE \$79.99
SAVE 37%
32296741
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

2 HP, 8 GALLON, 115 PSI PORTABLE AIR COMPRESSOR
CENTRAL PNEUMATIC
LOT NO. 95386/40400
\$79.99
REG. PRICE \$139.99
SAVE \$60
24305022
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

18 GAUGE 2-IN-1 NAILER/STAPLER
CENTRAL PNEUMATIC CONTRACTOR SERIES
LOT NO. 97524/40116
\$14.99
REG. PRICE \$29.99
SAVE 50%
46016408
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

MOVER'S DOLLY
HAUL-MASTER
LOT NO. 93888
\$7.99
REG. PRICE \$14.99
SAVE 46%
30341499
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

18 VOLT CORDLESS DRILL AND FLASHLIGHT KIT
DRILL MASTER
LOT NO. 91396
\$17.99
REG. PRICE \$29.99
SAVE 40%
88640032
HARBOR FREIGHT TOOLS - LIMIT 1
These valuable coupons are only good when presented at your nearest Harbor Freight Tools store. Offer Ends 1/14/10. Coupons valid in Retail Store Only. Coupon not valid on prior purchases. Coupon cannot be bought, sold, or transferred. This coupon cannot be duplicated in any manner including photocopies and computer printouts. Original coupon must be presented in order to receive the discount.

We Will Beat Any Competitor's Price Within 1 Year Of Purchase!

330 STORES NATIONWIDE

TO FIND THE STORE NEAREST YOU CHECK:

1-800-657-8001

or HarborFreightusa.com/atlanticmag

Amish mantle and miracle invention help home heat bills hit rock bottom

Miracle heaters being given away free with orders for real Amish fireplace mantles to announce the invention that helps slash heat bills, but Amish craftsmen under strain of early Christmas rush force household limit of 2

Save money: only uses about 8¢ electric an hour; so turn down your thermostat and never be cold again

By MARK WOODS
Universal Media Syndicate

(UMS) Everyone hates high heat bills. But we're all sick and tired of simply turning down the thermostat and then being cold.

Well now, the popular HEAT SURGE® miracle heaters are actually being given away free to the general public for the next 7 days starting at precisely 8:00 a.m. today.

The only thing readers have to do is call the National Distribution Hotline before the 7-day deadline with their order for the handmade Amish Fireplace Mantle. Everyone who does is instantly being awarded the miracle heater absolutely free.

This is all happening to announce the HEAT SURGE Roll-n-Glow® Fireplace which actually rolls from room-to-room so you can turn down your thermostat and take the heat with you anywhere. That way, everyone who gets them first can immediately start saving on their heat bills.

Just in time for winter weather, portable Amish enclosed fireplaces are being delivered directly to the doors of all those who beat the deadline.

These remarkable fireplaces are being called a miracle because they have what's being called the "Fireless Flame" patented technology that gives you the peaceful flicker of a real fire but without any flames, fumes, smells, ashes or mess. Everyone is getting them because they require



GENUINE AMISH MANTLES MADE IN THE USA: Everyone wants to save money on heat bills this winter, so entire Amish communities are working from the crack of dawn to finish. These fine real wood Amish made fireplace mantles are built to last forever. The oak mantle is a real steal at just two hundred ninety-eight dollars because all those who beat the order deadline by calling the National Hotline at 1-866-815-7004 to order the fireplace mantles are actually getting the imported hi-tech *Fireless Flame* HEAT SURGE miracle heaters for free.

no chimney and no vent. You just plug them in.

The *Fireless Flame* looks so real it amazes everybody because it has no real fire. So what's the catch? Well, soft spoken Amish craftsmen who take their time hand building the mantles have a process that forces a

strict household limit of 2 to keep up with orders.

"We can barely keep up ever since we started giving heaters away free. With winter just around the corner, everyone's trying to get them. Amish craftsmen are working their fingers to the bone to be sure everyone gets their delivery in time for Christmas," confirms Timothy Milton, National Shipping Director.

"These portable Roll-n-Glow Fireplaces are the latest home decorating sensation. They actually give you a beautifully redecorated room while they quickly heat from wall to wall. It's the best way to dress up every room, stay really warm and slash your heat bills all at the same

time," says Josette Holland, Home Makeover Expert.

And here's the best part. Readers who beat the 7-day order deadline are getting their imported hi-tech miracle heaters free when encased in the Amish built real wood fireplace mantles. The mantles are being handmade in the USA right in the heart of Amish country where they are beautifully hand-rubbed, stained and varnished.

You just can't find custom made Amish mantles like this in the national chain stores. That makes the oak mantle a real steal for just two hundred ninety-eight dollars since the entire cost of the miracle heater is free.

This free giveaway is the best way to slash heating



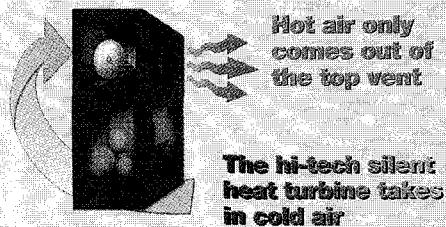
JUST ANNOUNCED: The Heat Surge miracle fireplace has earned the prestigious Good Housekeeping Seal. The product has earned the Seal after evaluation by the Good Housekeeping Research Institute.

HEAT SURGE™ Fireless Flame™

How It Works: The HEAT SURGE miracle heater is a work of engineering genius from the China coast so advanced, you simply plug it into any standard outlet. It uses only about 8¢ of electric an hour on the standard setting. Yet, it produces up to an amazing 5,119 BTU's on the high setting. So watch out, a powerful on board hi-tech heat turbine silently forces hot air out into the room from the vent so you feel the bone soothing heat instantly. It even has certification of Underwriters Laboratories coveted UL listing. It also comes with a limited full year replacement or money back warranty less shipping plus a 30-Day Satisfaction Guarantee. OH and FL resident transactions require the remittance of applicable sales tax. Sorry no shipments to MA residents.



LISTED: E322174



bills and stay warm this fall and winter. The HEAT SURGE Roll-n-Glow Fireplace gives you zone heating and all the beauty and warmth of a built-in fireplace but rolls from room-to-room so it can also save you a ton of money on heating bills.

Even people in California and Florida are flocking to get them so they may never have to turn on their furnace all winter. And since it uses

only about 8 cents of electric an hour on the standard setting, the potential savings are absolutely incredible.

"We are making sure no one gets left out, but you better hurry because entire communities of Amish craftsmen are straining to keep up with demands. For now, we are staying out of the large national retail stores in order to let readers have two per household just as long as they call before the

deadline," confirms Milton.

It's a really smart decision to get two right now because for only the next 7 days you get both miracle heaters free. That's like putting five hundred bucks right in your pocket and you can save even more money on your monthly heating bills.

"Everyone's calling to get one but those who are getting their Christmas shopping done early are surprising the whole family by

getting two. So when lines are busy keep trying or log onto amishfireplaces.com. We promise to get to every call. Then we can have a delivery truck out to your door right away with your beautiful Heat Surge Roll-n-Glow Fireplace," Milton said.

"You'll instantly feel bone soothing heat in any room. You will never have to be cold again," he said. ■

On the worldwide web:
www.amishfireplaces.com

Rolls anywhere to throw an instant heat wave with no chimney, no vents, no wood and no smoke



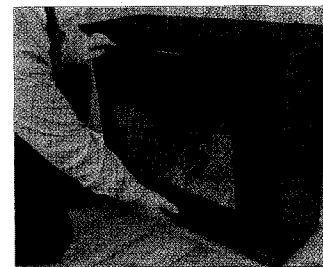
■ **EASILY ROLLS ANYWHERE:** This is the portable Roll-n-Glow® Fireplace that easily rolls from bedroom to living room to keep you warm. No vents, no chimney and no tools. Just plug it in.



■ **SAVES ON BILLS:** Everyone can get low bills and stay warm and cozy. The Roll-n-Glow Fireplace saves a ton of money and makes your front room look like a million bucks.



■ **SAFE FLAME:** The Fireless Flame looks so real it fools everyone but there is no real fire. That makes the flame window safe to the touch under the watchful eye of a parent. It's where the kids will play and the cat and dog will sleep.



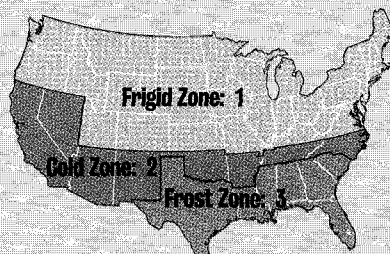
■ **FREE:** Get this \$249 miracle heater free. It is being given away free to all who beat the 7-day order deadline for your choice of the oak or cherry finish Amish Mantles. The free heater comes already encased.

How to get 2 free heaters

The National Toll Free Hotlines are now open. All those who beat the 7-day order deadline to cover the cost of the Amish made Fireplace Mantle and shipping get the HEAT SURGE miracle heater free.

A strict limit of 2 per household has been imposed. Since some home woodworkers want to build their own mantle piece, they are letting people get the imported miracle heater alone for just \$249. Or, with the Amish made mantle you get the miracle heater free.

Use the map below to locate the weather zone you live in and call the Hotline number for your zone.



Claim Code: FP9186

EVERYONE LIVING IN THE

Frigid Zone: 1START CALLING AT
8:00 A.M. TODAY

1-866-815-7004

EVERYONE LIVING IN THE

Cold Zone: 2START CALLING AT
8:30 A.M. TODAY

1-866-815-7110

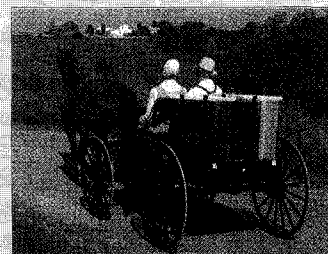
EVERYONE LIVING IN THE

Frost Zone: 3START CALLING AT
9:00 A.M. TODAY

1-866-815-7112

FOR HEAT SURGE, 8000 FREEDOM AVE., N. CANTON, OH 44720

©2005 HEAT SURGE, LLC P4682A 058758R.1



■ **ON THEIR WAY:** Early Christmas orders have turned country roads into pipelines to the big city delivery system. Everybody wants a fireplace that comes fully assembled with a handmade Amish mantle in oak or cherry finish and gets delivered by truck right to your door. All you do is plug it in.

COVER TO COVER

A Guide to Additional Releases

The Children's Book

A. S. Byatt

KNOPF

As in her Booker Prize-winning novel, *Possession*, here Byatt has constructed a complete and complex world, a gorgeous

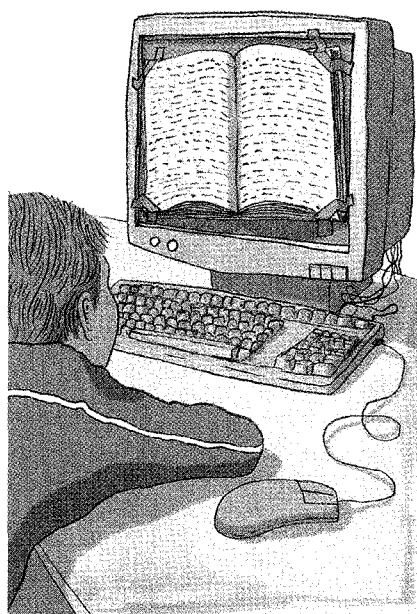
bolt of fiction, in this case pinned to British events and characters from the 1870s to the end of the Great War. The central character, a writer of children's books (who bears a few similarities to the author E. Nesbit), lives with her prodigious family—husband, sister, and seven children—on a romantically meadowed and wooded piece of Kentish property. Of course, real life is more complicated and less child-friendly than the fairy tale she struggles to maintain, and, as in a fairy tale, the characters' true identities can be a surprise. A tangle of secondary families ranging over rich historical territory—the rise of Fabianism and feminism, the Arts and Crafts protest against industrialism, the new recognition of children as something other than short adults—provides plenty of meaty story. But the magic is in the way Byatt suffuses her novel with details, from the shimmering sets of a marionette show to clay mixtures and pottery glazes.

Some of the Dead Are Still Breathing

Charles Bowden

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN HARCOURT

This volume of gonzo musings completes the "accidental trilogy" begun in *Blood Orchid* and continued in *Blues for Cannibals*, offering more scorched-earth prophesying by the hard-bitten Bowden, a journalistic iconoclast in the tradition of Hunter S. Thompson, Edward Abbey, and James Agee. Surveying the lethal recent past (Hurricane Katrina, Bali bombings, ecological collapse) with a noirish eye to the future,



he wonders, "How can a person live a moral life in a culture of death?" His engaged (though not always engaging) search for an answer amounts to an associative elegy—equal parts reflection, reportage, declamatory fervor, and lopsided natural history—that is as urgently poetic as it is maddeningly discursive.

Blame

Michelle Huneven

FSG

Huneven's nervy third novel turns a potentially prosaic plot—vivacious, besotted intellectual blacks out, dries out, does time, changes ways, rebuilds life—on its head via zippy dialogue, smart pacing, and, most vitally, a third-act plot twist that magically avoids contrivance. Huneven has a knack for limning the limits of guilt, and as her protagonist takes stock and charge of a too-lived-in life, the outlands of moral ambiguity begin to appear as sunken gardens of familiarity, blooming with humaneness. When the reader looks up at book's end, it is with eyes brimming with clarity.

Children of the Revolution: The French, 1799–1914

Robert Gildea

HARVARD

Like its great founding philosopher René Descartes, France has always exemplified dualism. So it is not surprising that its great revolution spawned the mother of all counterrevolutions. Looking at the long century between the Directory and the beginning of the First World War, Gildea, an Oxford historian, sees a continuing cycle of revolutionary fervor and reaction, although the republican values of secularism and populism endured. With penetration and style, he paints a complex portrait of a society geographically and temperamentally divided, constantly at war with itself, yet managing to forge a cohesive national identity at home and abroad.

The Greatest Show on Earth: The Evidence for Evolution

Richard Dawkins

FREE PRESS

The (r)evolutionary Oxford biologist returns with a sequel to his best-selling atheist polemic, *The God Delusion*. This time, on the occasion of two Darwinian anniversaries (200 years since the naturalist was born, 150 since *On the Origin of Species* was published), the disputatious Dawkins, aka "Darwin's Rottweiler," directly assails creationism, lavishing some of his most impassioned opprobrium on the Intelligent Design movement. Though he looses a shock-and-awe flurry of evidentiary darts (natural selection, fossil records, molecular biology, and much more), he also mutes some of the shriller tendencies that have unhinged—or at least made hectoring and unlovely—his previous works. The result is a sweeping, wryly joyous case for rationality, empiricism, and no God on this green Earth. ■

The Atlantic Monthly (ISSN 1072-7825) is published monthly except for combined issues in January/February and July/August by The Atlantic Monthly Group, 600 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20037 (202-266-6000). Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., Toronto, Ont., and additional mailing offices. Printed in U.S.A. Subscription queries: Atlantic Customer Care, P.O. Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0235 (or call 800-234-2411). Privacy: we make portions of our customer list available to carefully screened companies that offer products and services we believe you may enjoy. If you do not want to receive this information, please write to the Customer Care address above. Advertising (212-284-7647) and Circulation (202-266-7197): 600 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20037. Subscriptions: one year \$39.95 in the U.S. and poss., add \$8.00 in Canada, includes GST (123209926); add \$15.00 elsewhere. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement 41385014. Canada return address: The Atlantic, P.O. Box 1051, Fort Erie, ON L2A 6C7. Back issues: send \$7.50 per copy to The Atlantic, Back Issues, 1900 Industrial Park Dr., Federalsburg, MD 21632 (or call 410-754-8219). Vol. 304, No. 3, October 2009. Copyright © 2009, by The Atlantic Monthly Group. All rights reserved. Postmaster: Send address changes to Atlantic Address Change, P.O. Box 420235, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0235.

Imagine Living Your Entire Life Looking Like This Because You Could Never Afford \$250 For Surgery.

The Smile Train provides life changing free cleft surgery which takes as little as 45 minutes and costs as little as \$250.

It gives desperate children not just a new smile—but a new life.

*“...one of the most
productive charities—
dollar for deed—
in the world.”
—The New York Times*

Your support can provide free treatment for poor children with clefts and other problems.

- ☐ \$250 Surgery for one child. ☐ \$50 Medications for one surgery.
☐ \$125 Half the cost of one surgery. ☐ \$___ We'll gratefully accept any amount.

Mr./Mrs./Ms. _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ eMail _____

Charge my gift to my credit card: ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover

Account No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

☐ My check is enclosed.

The Smile Train-Dept. Mag.
P.O. Box 96211
Washington, DC 20090-6211

Z09101058ZFKY13

Donate online: www.smiletrain.org or call: 1-800-932-9541



SmileTrain

Changing The World One Smile At A Time.

A Healthy Diet During Pregnancy Can Help Prevent Birth Defects And Clefts. Diet is an important part of pregnancy. Eat a healthy diet that contains lots of fruits and vegetables and foods fortified with folic acid. According to the U.S. Government, women who plan to have a child should be sure to take sufficient levels of folic acid (400 micrograms per day) during pregnancy to help prevent neural tube defects and reduce the risk for cleft lip and palate. When folic acid is taken one month before conception and throughout the first trimester, it has been proven to reduce the risk for neural tube defects by 50 to 70 per cent. Be sure to receive proper prenatal care, quit smoking, and follow your health care provider's guidelines for foods to avoid during pregnancy. Foods to avoid may include raw or undercooked seafood, beef, pork or poultry; delicatessen meats; fish that contain high levels of mercury; smoked seafood; fish exposed to industrial pollutants; raw shellfish or eggs; soft cheeses; unpasteurized milk; pâté; caffeine; alcohol; and unwashed vegetables. For more information, visit www.SmileTrain.org. The Smile Train is a 501 (c)(3) nonprofit recognized by the IRS, and all donations to The Smile Train are tax-deductible in accordance with IRS regulations. © 2009 The Smile Train.

WHAT'S YOUR PROBLEM?

By Jeffrey Goldberg



I recently met a woman I'd like to ask out. Here's the complication: she's one of my new doctors, and I met her while I was wearing a paper humiliation gown. She's beautiful and intelligent and has a good sense of humor, and I learned that she's single. The problem is, I couldn't ask her out while wearing the gown. And whenever I call, the receptionists give me the run-around because I'm technically the patient of another doctor she was subbing for. What should I do?

M. K., Chicago, Ill.

Dear M. K.,
It is rare, outside of the pornography industry, for a woman to have the opportunity to inspect the naked body of someone she has not yet dated. So you must be in excellent shape (and no shrinking violet, so to speak), or you are delusional about your chances. In any case, you can take one of two approaches. One, learn her medical specialty, then fake an illness associated with that specialty and make an appointment to

see her. Stay clothed and calm, and when she enters the room explain that this was the only way you could think of to see her. She'll find this either utterly charming or fairly creepy. (She will find this especially creepy if she specializes in venereal diseases or in the condition known colloquially as "black hairy tongue.") Alternatively, I suggest you write her a note, explaining, in both comic and earnest tones, your dilemma. Leave the note at the front desk, and make sure you drop the receptionist some cash or a box of chocolates to ensure delivery.

Is it okay to serve caviar at a dinner party during the recession?

J. D., Baltimore, Md.

Dear J. D.,
Yes, but only if you're a Romanov.

I recently graduated from college, and my formerly dearest friend has stolen one of my extracurricular activities for her résumé. I just happened to see her résumé lying around and noticed that the community

service I performed—reading to blind children—is on it. But she never read to the blind! She's not very interested in charity, to put it mildly. I think she saw it on my résumé and realized how excellent it sounded. Should I let prospective employers know? How would I even know whom to tell?

J. G., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dear J. G.,
I turned your question over to my sister-in-law, Ellen Gordon Reeves, who is an actual expert on these things, having authored *Can I Wear My Nose Ring to the Interview?*, a guide to job-finding for recent graduates. She notes that if you were actually sniffing around for your friend's résumé, you don't have a moral argument to make. If not, she suggests the following: "Tell her you didn't know she'd started volunteering and that you're so glad your activities inspired her. If she fesses up, remind her that employers will not forgive lies on a résumé, especially when the falsehoods can be checked."

I'm in high school and my father smokes a lot of pot. He does it privately (in our living room), but I just found out that he buys his pot from one of my friends. My friend is in college, and he told everyone that he's my father's dealer. Should I tell my father to stop smoking pot, or to just stop buying from my friends?

J. P., San Francisco, Calif.

Dear J. P.,
What your father is doing is terribly selfish. It sounds as if you have more sense than he has. You must lay down the law: absolutely no buying illegal drugs from your friends. You are being raised in a catastrophically lenient household (has your father never heard the tragic story of Robert Downey Jr.?), and you're going to have to be unequivocal. And by the way, how did he convince you that the living room is "private"? ■

To submit your question or request for advice, please e-mail advice@theatlantic.com. Include your full name and address.

JASON FORD/HEART AGENCY



Celebrate 20 years of legendary service with Crystal Cruises

- **"All-Inclusive, As You Wish" Shipboard Credit of up to \$2,000.** On all 2010 voyages
- **20th Anniversary Fares with up to \$3,000 savings.** Book by December 31, 2009
- **Birthday Bonus.** Sail on your birthday in 2010 and receive 50% future savings
- **Anniversary Extras.** Enjoy special onboard festivities throughout 2010

For details visit crystalcruises.com. To book, contact your travel agent or call 888-247-8630

What happened when New Jersey teenagers had to wait a year longer to drive?



MORE OF THEM LIVED TO TALK ABOUT IT.



New Jersey strengthened its Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) laws and has saved lives. By simply raising its driving age from 16 to 17, not only did New Jersey see a dramatic decrease in teen driving deaths, it became one of the least deadly states for teen drivers.

Allstate believes there's a way to make every turnpike, highway, route and dirt road safer for teens.

SUPPORT THE STANDUP ACT OF 2009

The STANDUP Act* (H.R. 1895) creates a National Graduated Driver Licensing (GDL) law that limits

nighttime driving, reduces in-car distractions, puts a cap on the number of friends in the car and increases the required hours of training and supervision. **When states have implemented comprehensive GDL programs, the number of fatal crashes among 16-year-old drivers has fallen by almost 40%.**

Let's make sure that no matter what state a teen calls home, we can all drive through it safely. Tell your congressional representatives that you support the STANDUP Act of 2009. **Go to allstate.com/STANDUP.**

It's time to make the world a safer place to drive. That's Allstate's Stand.



Allstate
You're in good hands.

Auto
Home
Life
Retirement

*The STANDUP Act is the Safe Teen And Novice Driver Uniform Protection Act of 2009.

Sources: IIHS Wheels Weekly, 2008; Allstate America's Teen Driving Hotspots Study, May 2008; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Web-based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System (WISQARS) [Online] (2008). The Cupped Hands logo is a registered service mark and "That's Allstate's Stand" is a service mark of Allstate Insurance Company, Northbrook, IL, Allstate New Jersey Property and Casualty Insurance Company, Bridgewater, NJ. © 2009 Allstate Insurance Company.